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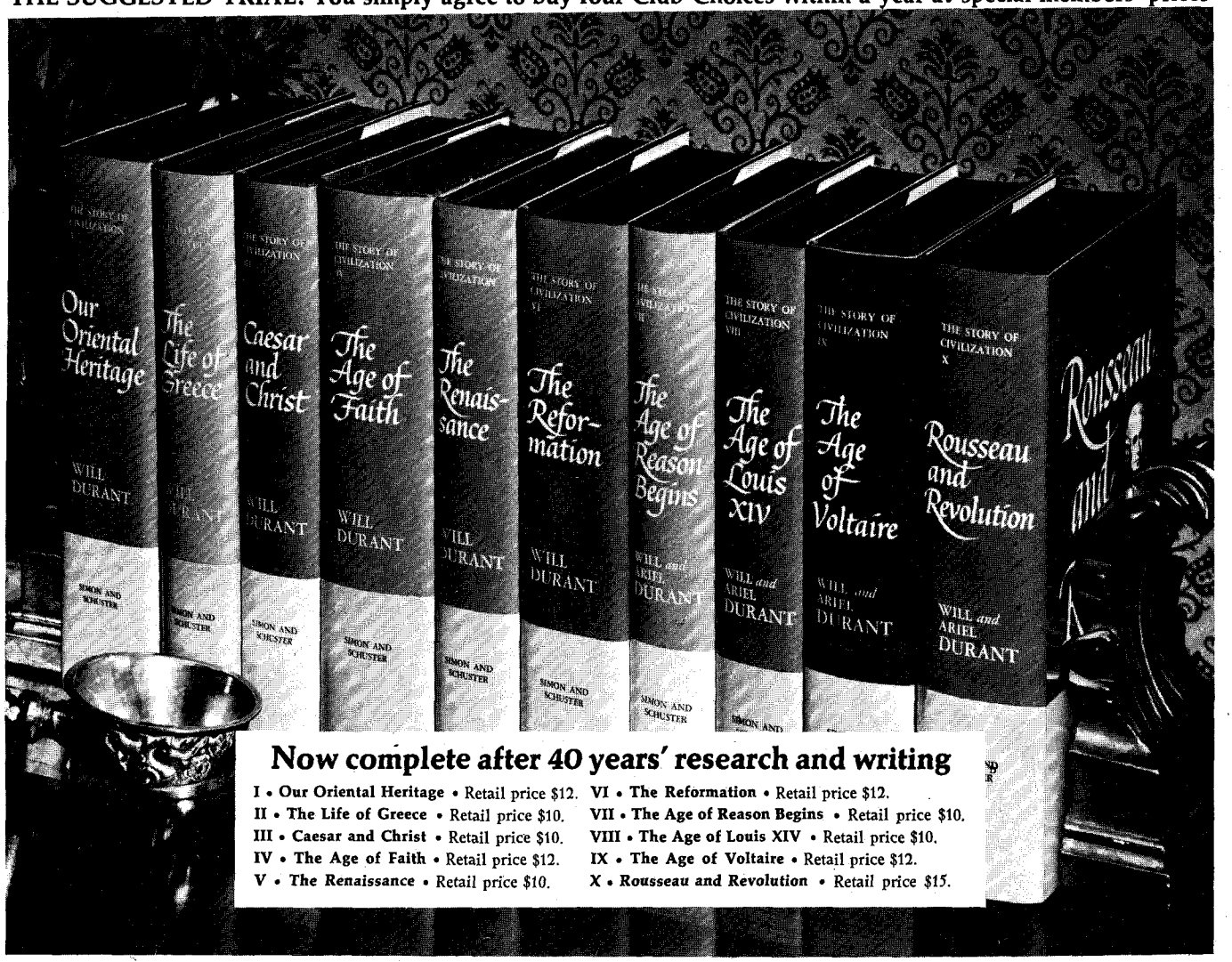

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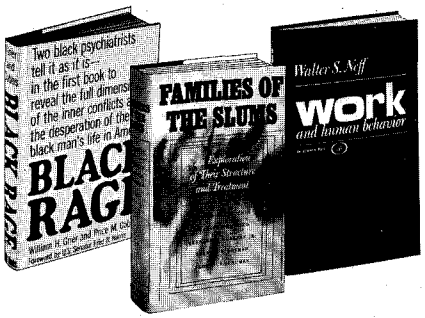

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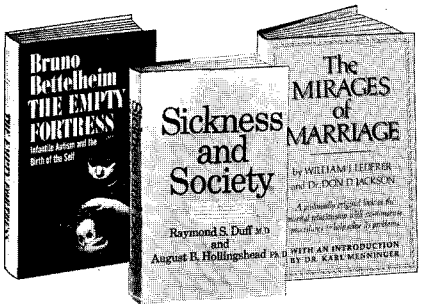
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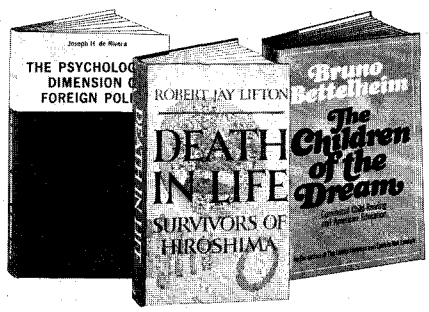

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BEHIND THE SOUTH'S RULERS STAND THE NORTHERN CITY BOSSES:

". . . The southern conservatives in Congress, the southern oligarchs in the party have one source of power only: the power which the Democratic party willingly bestows on them. The "Solid South" of liberal mythology, the retrograde South which sends reactionaries to Congress to earn power through seniority is the handiwork of the northern Democrats. They created it, protect it and whenever it falls apart put it back together. Why does the party do this? Because the powers that control the Democratic party are not its liberals and mavericks, least of all its 'labor' appendage. The real party powers are the big city Democratic bosses and their allies, whose first, last and perpetual concern is to protect themselves by protecting the status quo. A South ruled by reactionary oligarchies and given veto power over reform legislation is the first line of defense of the party bosses . . . The rule of the big city Democrats in the North means the rule of the one-party oligarchs in the South. And local self-government in the cities would put an end to both."

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT REACHES DEAD-END:

". . . What had the government created when it gave the sanction of law to the trade unions? It had created a corporate economic body with the right to represent workers. It had not, however, given workers any rights as individuals. Instead it told workers that, if they wished to gain fair treatment, they must not demand it of lawmakers. They should form unions and ask their union leaders to try to get it for them. By creating unions the government took the economic concerns of wage-earners out of politics and put them into the hands of union bosses . . . Did these new legal bodies have any power to fulfill the wishes of their members? The answer is no. A trade union cannot have any real economic power or it would cease to be a trade union . . . As total nullities, the trade unions finally fulfilled their destiny in 1947 with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, a law which gave to trade unions everything they could wish. It took from unions such economic weapons as the secondary boycott which the unions don't want and can't wield. More importantly, it established for the first time the government's right in law to force corporations to bargain with unions, something the Wagner Act had not done. It was, therefore, the most pro-union law ever enacted in this country . . . Having become by consent of both parties all they could ever hope to be, the unions have faced one central problem since 1947: disguising the fact that they have completely succeeded . . ."

BUREAUCRATIC POWER AND THE BREEDING OF RACISM:

". . . Here then are the propositions which forced bureaucratic school integration (as opposed to desegregation) sets before a supposedly free people: that an 'enlightened,' integration-minded bureaucracy is morally superior to the citizens it serves; that the citizens can only prove their worthiness by obedience to its decrees, for any opposition is automatically defined as racist and nothing else. Since this, as will be seen, is very likely to incite the very racial antagonism it is allegedly designed to eliminate, bureaucratic integration can be likened in its effects to an agent provocateur. It will prove, as it operates on one impotent neighborhood after another, that local citizens are unfit for self-government—especially poor and lower-middle-class whites. And who benefits from that besides the bureaucrats themselves?"

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from Washington

The Short War

In the summer of 1967, I took a 10,000-mile trip across America in a battered old Rambler, asking people everywhere what they thought of the war. They didn't think much of it. It had been going on 17 years for the Vietnamese but only about two for the US if you start from the big troop buildup. People shrugged; they didn't like the war but felt it had to be finished; it was bound to be short, thank God.

Then about midsummer President Johnson suddenly said that the nation faced a $25-billion deficit and that he wanted a $10-billion tax increase. Maybe it was my imagination but I thought I felt the mood stiffen. By Denver I was pretty sure of it. "President Johnson is in trouble, bad trouble," I wrote.

The war still goes on and two or three hundred Americans get killed every week. There have been several new developments. Ho Chi Minh has died. The State Department is weighing what Hanoi's chief negotiator at Paris meant when he said a sizable withdrawal of US troops *might* break the deadlock (was this a signal?). In Saigon, our man Thieu picked a new premier (a general), and enlarged his cabinet (soldiers and technicians of the old regime) but didn't broaden its base which is what it agonizingly needs. Truong Dinh Dzu, the runner-up peace candidate in the September, 1967 election, got five years in jail for his presumption.

Here at home, the draft generation is going back to college. Everybody hopes they won't be violent. After all, why should they be? The country is prosperous! It is in the eighth year of the longest uninterrupted upswing in history, and the Vietnam war is fattening dividends, making big corporations bigger and pumping $30 billion a year into the economy. Why should those kids behave so uncooperatively; what's bugging them, anyway? They have nothing to lose but their lives.

"But what are we fighting for?" ask the youngsters. Ah, to be sure; that's the question. Glad you asked me that.

We are fighting, I suppose, for reasons that go back a long way. America has a yen for world-crusading, followed by resentful periods of isolationism. After World War II our ersatz partnership with Russia collapsed suddenly in angry confrontation. If you believed spheres of influence were bad, that a balance of power was a makeshift, that Soviet control was temporary, that saboteurs in the State Department had "betrayed" China, that nations would implacably put ideology ahead of national interest, and that Communism was a monolithic world conspiracy – then the war in Vietnam made sense.

So, perhaps, would any war of containment. The US had very good reason for wanting to stop Moscow after the war, but it developed into a frenzy that threatened to commit the country beyond its capacity. General Douglas MacArthur warned that anyone who got the US into a land war in Asia ought to have his head examined. Walter Lippmann looked at the matter with Olympian calm. He urged succeeding Presidents to uphold our presence in Asia by sea and air forces and not to get bogged down in guerrilla fighting. It would be like an elephant fighting a swarm of mosquitoes, he said. Vietnam was not external aggression, he declared, but a civil war. In December, 1966, he wondered in print whether Lyndon Johnson "will not withdraw before 1968?" He wrote that "if the only way out of the quagmire is to elect a Republican it is not improbable that there will come forward a Republican to elect." Mr. Lippmann has made his share of mistakes in 60 years of journalism but as he reaches his 80th birthday, September 23, he can boast remarkable prescience on Vietnam.

The great theory of monolithic Communism fell apart when Peking and Moscow split. (There is even now talk of a preemptive Russian strike against China.) In Europe Mr. Nixon has just visited a Communist country, Rumania. This softens a little the rationale of our Asian crusade.

But there was the "domino theory." Depending on circumstances it may have validity, but then, why is the US so agonizingly alone in the war? James C. Thomson, Harvard East Asian specialist, says, "the domino theory was not merely inaccurate but also insulting to Asian nations." Again, there was Walt Rostow's theory that phased bombing would bring North Vietnam quickly to its knees. Well, it didn't. It is now almost universally acknowledged that the bombing strengthened Vietcong morale.

There was the 1964 Tonkin Gulf incident that gave LBJ the "functional equivalent of a declaration of war. Only two senators voted against the resolution, Morse and Gruening – both defeated in 1968. A startling book is just to be published, "Truth is the First Casualty: The Gulf of Tonkin Affair," by Joseph C. Goulden ($6.95; Rand McNally). I can read it with no other thought than that Congress was deceived, perhaps deliberately. Even while US retaliatory bombs were falling on North Vietnam the Administration was frantically pleading for verification that enemy patrol boats in Tonkin Gulf had actually attacked our destroyers, and getting foggy answers. In fact, in that eerie, overcast night, with fitful lightning flashes and a damaged sonar system, it is not certain that enemy boats were even present.

The public now mostly thinks the war was a mistake. One casualty is social reform at home – the poor old Great Society. Lyndon Johnson was saying only last year that the amount of money required to bring every last American up out of deep poverty was only the equivalent of a quarter of the nation's annual economic growth. In a war with bands and banners, and patriotic zeal, you can wage war on two fronts, but this was different. A taxpayers' strike doomed the double effort.

Two years ago people across America weren't bothering much about the merits of the war, the big thing was that it would be over quickly; it would be cheap and easy. Anybody could see a primitive land of 16 million couldn't stand up long against a giant of 200 million. . . .

So why fight now? Because, I suppose, we feel we have certain obligations and to save face, and because we are trapped. Is that worth 200 to 300 lives a week? Not for me, it isn't.

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Leave or Get Out

After the French had more or less made up their minds to get out of Algeria, they found to their dismay that the war the young men hated and even the old men had grown to loathe went on much as before. France seemed bewitched. President Nixon may yet play de Gaulle's Algerian role and get this country out of Vietnam, but there are doubts. Not long ago, everything and everyone seemed to be converging on withdrawal. Former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford said we should get all ground troops out by end 1970; Mr. Nixon appeared to have said, in rejoinder, why wait that long? But there are still 515,000 uniformed Americans in Vietnam – and 50,000 in Thailand – and withdrawals of real magnitude from either place appear far off.

Averell Harriman has made two proposals for finding a way out of Vietnam. He suggested that heat be put on President Thieu to broaden his Saigon government so as to make it a more popular instrument, capable of concluding the fighting. By far the most effective form of pressure would be a firm timetable of large withdrawals of American forces; each time the Thieu regime balked, the timetable would not be slowed down, but speeded up. Harriman also suggested there ought to be a "cease-fire in place", deliberately cutting back the level of fighting. The prescription seems worth trying. But Thieu has reshuffled his cabinet in the opposite direction and Mr. Nixon exhibits no distress. The Thieu government is bigger, but narrower; more militant, and even less popular. In fact it looks very like a wilful slap at President Nixon's professed Vietnam policy, as well as at Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh's successors there. Yet Mr. Nixon behaves as though he now believes that if he withdraws American forces slowly, buying the Saigon generals still more time than they've been given already, they will be able to take over the fighting, and impose their military solution on Vietnam with our arms. The entire history of the war suggests this is a pipe dream; current events do, too. Thieu's army is riddled with desertion, his "pacification" is a flop and his land reforms are fraudulent. The French hung on in Vietnam until they went down in resounding defeat, but this country is stuck in a can't win, can't lose position. Thieu's position is disastrously different. Ho Chi Minh is gone, but Nguyen VanThieu will never be Uncle. Thieu can only lose. The US choice isn't win or lose, it's leave or get out; orderly but genuine withdrawal, or cut-and-run.

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Alabama Branch

When the Democratic National Committee meets in Washington D.C. Sept. 17-19, it will fill the vacancy it created in January when it tossed out Earl Goodwin, the Alabama national committeeman who publicly backed George C. Wallace in 1968 in violation of committee rules. Two candidates each represent a different Southern strategy. Ex-Rep. Albert Rains is the candidate of Alabama State Chairman Robert Vance and the all-white Democratic State Committee. The Rev. William McKinley Branch of Greene County is the nominee of the integrated National Democratic Party. The NDP in July won a special election in Greene County giving it control of both the county commission and school board with the election of six black men. NDP leaders look forward to taking over a dozen or more courthouses in the rural, black belt of Alabama in 1970.

Vance has been fighting the NDP since its inception in 1967. Working behind the scenes, he helped form the Alabama Independent Democratic Party (AID). The black vote largely stayed with Vance, but many black leaders now feel cheated because AID hasn't been heard from since. At Chicago last summer, an overworked and confused credentials committee gave short shrift to the NDP, dividing the delegation between the regulars and the Vance-inspired AID.

Now the national committee would have solid reasons for seating Branch. An estimated 85 percent of the votes received by the Humphrey-Muskie ticket in Alabama last year came from black voters, whereas Vance's 72-man state committee doesn't have a single black member and was elected in a primary in which hundreds of thousands of Wallace supporters participated. Seating Branch would also notify the aging but powerful Southern congressional establishment, still top-heavy with chairmanships, that the national party can't wait around any longer while the congressional leaders try to extricate themselves from an impossible political situation caused by complete deterioration of their political base over 20 years.

Antiwar for Everyman

On the nation's campuses, when young men still face the draft, the antiwar clock has begun to tick again. Beginning Oct. 15 with a one-day "moratorium" (to side step the more inflammatory word "strike"), the Vietnam Moratorium Committee plans to retool the dormant campus antiwar machine and launch it on a campaign to pressure the Nixon Administration to do either of two things: negotiate a Vietnam settlement fast or get out fast. The emphasis in both cases is on speed.

Moving from the teach-in of 1967-68 to the teach-out, college students this year will be asked to forsake the homogeneous campus and go out into the community, where the door-to-door canvassing techniques that worked so well for Sen. Eugene McCarthy in New Hampshire will be used. The committee hopes to involve labor, business, professional and academic groups in a revived antiwar effort which would escalate to a two-day moratorium in November, a three-day affair in December and so on. The goal is a national moratorium to protest the war – a day when normal activity ceases and everyone's business is some sort of antiwar activity.

The Moratorium Committee's founders are three young men who have marched this route before, dumping Johnson, scratching for McCarthy, Kennedy or McGovern and then seeing it all go down the drain in bloody Chicago, followed by the election of Nixon with no end to the war in sight. They are David Hawk, Sam Brown and David Mixner, who since July managed to raise more than $75,000 and enlist the pledged support of more than 100 student-body presidents.

Brown, 25, is the main fund raiser and probably the group's most articulate spokesman. Beginning as a National Student Association activist, he came out of the Dump Johnson movement to lead Sen. McCarthy's successful kinderglut in New Hampshire. Working out of the limelight in a converted electrical supply shop off Concord's main street, Brown won a well-deserved reputation as a first-rate choreographer of mass movements. Moreover, and almost aside from his real abilities, older liberals and the media chose him as a spokesman for the respectable student left. In that capacity he was invited to a Princeton intellectual convention last fall, where he tangled with the likes of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and George Kennan and won the admiration of Lillian Hellman and mention in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Now a fellow at Harvard's Kennedy Institute for Politics, Brown is respected by the liberal establishment, which considers him shrill, but sane.

Hawk, 24, a Cornell diver of Olympic caliber who now faces imprisonment as a draft resister, graduated in 1965 and plunged into draft resistance as a full-time job. His background includes civil rights work in Georgia and staff work for Allard Lowenstein, but Hawk's calling is opposing the draft. In that capacity he directed a campaign last spring which resulted in a we-won't-go letter to President Nixon from 250 student presidents and editors. It was Nixon's first brush in the White House with the antiwar movement and he took it like a gentleman. He invited the students for a conference with Henry Kissinger.

Mixner, 24 and the veteran of a heart attack, is a

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member of the McGovern Commission for Reform of the Democratic Party. He was selected, he says, because he is a virtual unknown who possesses solid credentials with the McCarthy wing of the party for his campaign work. By profession Mixner is a union organizer with a special interest in farm laborers – his father was one. Mixner's responsibility is to bring the unions into line and he says he has been having phenomenal success. "I thought it would never happen but it's a very sincere concern. They want to do something. The UAW has expressed a deep interest."

One area where support has been lukewarm at best is Congress. There only such avowed doves as Rep. Donald Fraser (D., Minn.), has responded with any enthusiasm. A more typical reaction came from a cautious Sen. Edmund Muskie who wrote that his "one reservation is the possibility that our government may be involved with negotiations with the other side which could be jeopardized by the timing of the moratorium."

To Brown, Mixner and Hawk this is a specious argument which closely parallels Nixon's campaign stance on Vietnam.

"It's really incredible how sophisticated people are," Brown said, referring to the students. "They are really looking for a guy who's not going to screw around and leave 30,000 guys there forever. They're looking for a guy who'll stand up and say, 'Look, we're getting out of Vietnam and we're getting out now and 50,000 withdrawn will not be just 50,000 and maybe 10,000 next year, but the first part of a complete withdrawal.' "

Richard M. Cohen

Bonfire in Ulster

by Norman Moss

Belfast

The gulf that runs through Northern Ireland, dividing Protestants from Catholics, is wider than it has ever been. You are in a pub discussing the dream of a united Ireland with two young Catholics, a moderate-minded lawyer and a doctor. The lawyer shrugs off primitive, Irish Republican Army-type republicanism. "It would have to be done by persuasion. I've no ambition to force the majority of Ulster Protestants into a state they don't want to be a part of." "You haven't?" retorts the doctor with sudden, sharp bitterness. "After the past three weeks, I don't care what they're forced into."

At a barbed wire checkpoint on a Catholic street on a Saturday evening, several British soldiers confront a handful of residents, two of them audibly drunk. A Protestant watching the scene remarks, "It's a pretty rotten job for the soldiers, having to deal with savages like this rabble." He goes on to talk of a conspiracy between Dublin, Rome and the international New Left.

You are sitting in a comfortable home, with wall-to-wall carpeting and a large-screen television set, in a predominantly Catholic apartment complex that has been attacked by a Protestant mob recently. Your host, a civic-conscious young businessman who sits on several local committees, is discussing with two friends how they can get more guns to defend the block. One of them, from another part of Belfast, says they may have some to spare because in his district, they made a peace pact with the adjoining Protestant neighborhood. "I'm not altogether in favor of these peace pacts," says the businessman. "If they know that district is safe from attack, then some boyos from there can come down here to help the local crowd get at us. It might be a good idea to keep them worried about where they're going to be hit back."

These are the ordinary people of Northern Ireland today. The Protestants and Catholics of clean-lawned, comfortably-off Belfast suburbs have joined together to build *their* barricades against any tide of violence that might sweep up from the slums.

This part of Ireland was made a separate province of the United Kingdom, with self-rule in local matters, but subject to the ultimate authority of the British Government. Many of the Ulster Protestant folkways seem an earnest parody of English-ness. On public holidays, whole streets of houses fly the Union Jack, which is displayed in England mostly as a pop art symbol.

Anti-Catholic bigotry often goes with these folkways. There is a lot of unemployment in Catholic areas; one is told it is because they don't want to work. They are said to breed children irresponsibly to swell the relief rolls.

The Catholics make up one-third of the population. The parochial schools they all attend teach Irish history and Irish patriotism. On *their* ceremonial occasions, they fly the tricolor of the Irish Republic. Their polit-

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Norman Moss *is chief European correspondent for Metromedia radio.*

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ical leaders have never accepted the partition of Ireland and the separate status of Ulster. The high Catholic birth rate could give Ulster a Catholic majority in 30 years.

Discrimination against Catholics has been grinding in areas like jobs and housing, and Ulster has 7 1/2 percent unemployment, three times more than the rest of the United Kingdom. But an end is promised to the weapons of political discrimination – gerrymandering, and municipal votes for property-owners only. Discrimination in municipal housing sales is also to end, and an ombudsman set up.

The civil rights demonstrations were attacked brutally, and once the rocks started to fly, all took up their accustomed positions. The three-day battle between Bogside Catholics in Londonderry (12 percent unemployed, mostly young Catholic men) and the police that brought the British Army on to Ulster streets had the character of a ghetto revolt. It was not in support of clearly articulated, and rejected, demands. The civil rights leaders' demands on political reforms had already been accepted in principle.

But there is also some truth in the Belfast Government's charge that the disorders were part of a plot to bring it down and substitute rule from London. Catholic and republican leaders all demanded this. Each new disorder was hailed as proof that the Belfast government was discredited and could no longer govern. The arrival of British troops was welcomed in the Catholic quarters, apart from the protection it gave them, as a harbinger of further British intervention. It is irrelevant today to talk of "driving the British out," and no one here does so. The problem for Irish republicans is not the British Government, which would probably be very pleased to unburden itself of Northern Ireland, but the stubborn majority of Protestant Ulstermen. If the government representing this majority could be undermined, then the partition-of-Ireland question might be reopened, and the British Government induced to negotiate the future of Ulster and its inhabitants with Dublin.

The IRA may want to stake a claim, and Protestant militants have their own underground army, the Ulster Volunteer Force. Catholics in the areas that have been attacked and burned, where the streets are still barricaded and guarded at night, are frightened, and some are armed. They believe there are Protestant gangs ready to stage an anti-Catholic pogrom.

For a while, relations between Protestants and Catholics were getting better. Fears about the border were diminishing. All this has been set back years by the violence, as has the prospect of economic improvement – photos of gaunt shells of burned-out warehouses cannot encourage investors. Only when fears of subversion and religious persecution are reduced, can there be basic improvement in Ulster's situation.

Charnita Bonanza

by David Sanford

The Charnita Golf, Ski and Country Club near Fairfield, Pennsylvania, is mailing thousands of promotional letters to people in the Washington, D.C. area to entice them to buy plots of land in the Pennsylvania hills. The letter says the recipient has won one of several listed sweepstakes prizes and needs only make the 70-mile trip to Charnita to find out what it is. The prizes all have some value and the letter promises that you have definitely won one of them (80,000 to 800,000 S&H Green Stamps, government savings bonds ranging in value from $50 to $1,000, or a free Minnesota or Florida vacation).

The letter explains that the sweepstakes has been undertaken as a way to get "reputable people like you" to take a look at Charnita's private club development. As added stimulus, the recipient is to be given $5 for his trouble and, as if this weren't enough, a 45-piece set of dishes: "This is no trick; there are no hidden conditions." In the new age of Truth in Lending, what the letter says is just true enough.

A couple of weeks ago a friend and I drove up to Charnita, bringing along our sweepstakes letters. Mine had come to my apartment; his was addressed to a relative. In my case, I had failed to meet the "one condition" Charnita had explained in the letter. "This offer is effective only on the day of your actual visit (no later than August 18, 1969) . . ." The offer, for me, had expired two days before I made the trip August 20. But Charnita (the name is a contraction for Charlie and Anita Rist, the owners of the development) didn't seem to care. The salesman who met me at the Charnita club house wrote out my check for five dollars and gave me a big box of plastic dishes. I chose tangerine over harvest gold. My friend was out of luck; he could look at the real estate, of course, but he couldn't have the money and the dinnerware because the letter he had brought was not addressed specifically to him. That struck us as a silly legalism but Paul Leighty, our guide, explained that there were laws that applied to exactly that circumstance, and like it or not, Charnita had to comply. "We're strictly regulated," he added.

"The letters you received," he said, "are a special promotion sent out for us by Mail House Inc." (a company with a Minneapolis address). "Mail House carefully selects whom to send them to so that we know when you present the letter and proof of identification that you are a responsible person and a good citizen." We cynically suspected that this was code for "middle class white." But Mr. Leighty assured us that in the project of 6,400 acres there was a black

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family "over in our B section." That day we would be looking at available property "in our O section" – 15 letters away from the nearest Negro, alphabetically if not geographically. Later, when it came time to sign a contract to buy the land, Mr. Leighty shed more light on how select we were. "Your getting this letter means to us that your credit has already been approved, that you are eligible for financing." (Everyone in my apartment building, I had noticed, had a Charnita letter in his box the day I got mine. They all had been approved for financing.) I tried to find out more about how Mail House Incorporated did its sensitive screening of respectable good citizens with good credit, but Mr. Leighty didn't know the details. He did know Mail House buys mailing lists.

But that is getting ahead of the story. After I had picked up my 8-place setting, Mr. Leighty outlined our itinerary. First we would drive around a little to familiarize ourselves with Charnita. "Then, when we get back, we will compare the printed number on your prize certificate with our master list to see which of the prizes you have won. *You have definitely won a prize.* Also there will be a bonus of between $50 and $500 on the purchase of a Charnita lot." "I'll tell you now," Leighty whispered with his hand aside his mouth, "most of them are the fifty dollar kind."

We headed out for Leighty's Cadillac. Charnita, as we soon saw, is a "superlative vacation-recreation community, a wonderful development for permanent or vacation homes, for family pleasure and relaxation or for retirement living." First we saw the lovely $110,000 home of Charles Rist, who owns Charnita and who at the age of 42, Leighty said, "is certainly a millionaire." Before he borrowed the money to buy what is now Charnita, he was a factory worker in Baltimore. Now he has 32 rooms, 12 bedrooms, 8 baths, $60,000 in furniture, and this lovely setting in which to live and sell real estate. The development includes an 18-hole, PGA approved, golf course; one swimming pool and another soon to be built; a private airport, new clubhouse, shopping center, and motel (all soon to be built); a man-made 29-acre lake (27 feet deep at its deepest); and a ski area with artificial snow. It is a habitable Disneyland. When you buy land at Charnita you qualify for membership in the golf, swimming, skiing and country club which is the main attraction (the fees average a modest $210.00 a year). When you sell the land you can sell it to any "responsible" person, but his membership in the Club must be approved. This way no riff-raff.

Otherwise what you get is a half-acre or so of land to do with what you want. There is a rule prohibiting camping out on your property but that is no inconvenience really since the Club maintains its own campground. You must get permission to cut trees over two inches in diameter. And you must provide your own water and sewage system. The land extends in each case half-way into the street, thus keeping the road system private. The owner pays for construction and a charge for maintenance, snow clearing, etc. One arranges for his own trash removal. There are no schools, no hospital within 11 miles, no public transportation in or near Charnita.

We next stopped in front of the house owned by Robert Lindner, the psychiatrist who wrote the best-seller, *The Fifty-Minute Hour*. His home was written up once in *House Beautiful* or *Better Homes and Gardens*. Before the day was out we saw the homes of the chairman of a Washington bank, a White House official, and sundry others. Some of the homes are elegant, others prefabricated and built in a day. Since Charnita became a reality in 1965, only about 170 houses have been built, so much of the land is still virgin forest and the dwellings there seem almost secluded. Charnita sold $3.5 million worth of property last year and hopes to double its sales this year. Someday, it may take on the appearance of a Levittown, but for now it has a mountain-resort quality.

For all the open space and the mailing of thousands of sweepstakes letters in Washington alone, we had to act quickly if we were to get land. The O section which Mr. Leighty was ever-so-gently pushing was nearly all bought up. Only half-a-dozen plots were unsold and unless Charnita's approval to sell more came through the next day from HUD (the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development) then these six or so pieces of land were all that was left. Five of them were back in the woods somewhere, inaccessible by road, and muddy from the recent rains, so all we could look at was one parcel, a treeless, half-acre trapezoid near the proposed airport. It could be had for only $4,000 (the others were $6,000) and it would surely appreciate when the airport is finished and airplane buffs scramble for nearby property. Someday it will be worth $10,000.

Then back to the sales office and my prize. Leighty handed me a table of numbers listed next to the applicable prize, and a table of bonuses. He left us to look up the prizes and when he returned he got the good news that I had won a free Minnesota or Florida vacation and $500 off on the property. That meant that the price of the land was only $3,500 and I could have it for 10 percent down and the rest payable over five years. Financing would be "at six percent 'add-on', or 10.5 percent simple interest now that we have Truth in Lending." While Leighty had been away, my friend and I looked up the prizes he would have won had Charnita been willing to let him collect them for his relative. By coincidence he too had won a Florida or Minnesota vacation and $500 off.

I explained to Leighty, who had spent over an hour

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with us politely answering hundreds of questions, that since I was still paying for college and my car, I really couldn't afford the $70 monthly payments. But I would be interested in the free Florida or Minnesota vacation. At least I had that. I picked Minnesota and was given a nontransferable certificate explaining the prize—three nights' free motel room and four days at the Port Mille Lacs Country Club, which like Charnita has a golf course, swimming pool, beach and picnic area. The only things not included in the prize were my transportation to Minnesota and food. (The limitations on the vacation prize had been listed in the tiny type at the bottom of the letter I had got from Charnita, along with an accounting of the number of prizes actually awarded. There is one thousand-dollar prize, one 800,000-stamp prize, one $200-bond prize, one 300,000-stamp prize, six 80,000-stamp prizes, twenty $50-bond prizes. The rest are all vacations. I generally don't think of three nights' free motel as a "free vacation," but the small print set me straight on that. (The details were all there to be seen with my magnifying glass.) I asked Mr. Leighty if there is any good real estate available in Minnesota since that too sounds like a nice place. He didn't know.

USA, How Many Births Did You Stop Today?

The Ford Condom in India's Future

by Zalin B. Grant

Benares

Millions of Hindus come to this holy city to wash away their sins in the Ganges, where bodies of babies and ashes of adults are tossed into the waters as an act of final redemption. Now on the banks of the holy river, near the flickering pyres of the dead, a billboard intrudes upon the ancient rites: TWO OR THREE CHILDREN –THAT'S ENOUGH!

The message at Benares is the battle cry of the heavily US–backed birth-control program in India. Buses, matchboxes, trains, calendars, rickshaws, cinemas, shopping bags, carnival banners and post offices give Orwellian repetition to the slogan. But in an underdeveloped country where religion and family traditions emphasize reproduction, where many girls marry at 14 and have two or three children by the age of 20, implementing birth control is more difficult than convincing the Pope. India's program has hit serious snags. These problems may finally force Americans to decide how far the US can – and should – go to promote international birth prevention.

India's need for a successful birth-control program is as pressing as the country's countless street beggars, emaciated ragamuffins covered with pus-runny sores. Their hair is streaked a grubby orange color by a severe protein deficiency. Four million persons no longer starve to death in a year as they did in 1877, but India's mega-population explosion still threatens to outstrip its food supply. Thirteen million new mouths – more than the present population of Australia – are added to the country's troubles yearly. With an area only one-third that of the US and a population of 536 million, India claims one out of every seven earthlings.

An insistent cadre of American neo-Malthusians has long warned that the ultimate danger is not nuclear war, but a worldwide invasion of babies. Yet the first official recommendation that the US help nations grapple with their population problems came only a decade ago in the report of President Eisenhower's committee to study the military assistance program. The committee was headed by General William H. Draper, Jr., who is now chairman of the Population Crisis Committee and Washington's top anti-natalist lobbyist. Eisenhower disavowed Draper's controversial report. Four years later, John F. Kennedy, whose credentials as a Catholic helped him buck religious opposition, became the first President openly to offer family planning aid.

Lyndon Johnson, in his 1965 State of the Union message, went a big step further and advocated an active policy of international birth control. (The preferred euphemism is "family planning," a tricky term that for many simply connotes spaced births or reduced childbirths brought about by gentle education in contraceptive techniques. However, population con-

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trol as supported by the US in underdeveloped countries is a necessarily more comprehensive – and often less appetizing – program than the term family planning implies.) After Johnson's speech, the US Agency for International Development became the world's biggest source of birth-control paraphernalia. AID's budget for population control jumped from $2.1 million in 1965 to $50 million this year, with prospects of doubling next year. AID now supports birth control planning in 35 developing countries, from Tunisia to Nepal, including – yes – Vietnam.

India gets the largest slice of this money – an embryonic amount measured against the $9 billion the US has given India since 1951. The rationale for Indian aid over the years has changed. In the 1950's it was to guard countries on the fringe of the "monolithic" Communist bloc. Then, especially after 1962, aid was designed to protect India from China. Some American diplomats even dreamed the unwieldy country might become the western (with Japan as the eastern) anchor of freedom and democracy in Asia. "But always underlying our aid was the feeling that while Indians starve, the US can't with clear conscience move into a trillion dollar economy," says a US official in New Delhi.

US pressure and food shortages from back-to-back droughts propelled India into a revitalized birth-control program in 1965. Birth prevention was given a national priority second only to that of agricultural development. The pace in Washington and New Delhi picked up in 1967 when the US Congress for the first time earmarked specific funds for foreign population control; AID began dispensing contraceptives to needy nations; and India finally selected a capable commander for its anti-birth campaign.

Dr. Sripati Chandrasekhar (pronounced chun-dra-Shaker), a US-trained demographer, replaced an elderly spinster as Minister of Health and Family Planning. The spinster had asked couples to practice "monklike abstinence." Chandrasekhar's easier answer was the "cafeteria approach" to contraception and sterilization. Condoms, diaphragms, jelly, foam tablets, the IUCD, the Pill, vasectomy, tubectomy were presented to the Indian public on a take-your-choice basis, cheaply and conveniently. The intra-uterine contraceptive device, the loop, was the cafeteria special with the greatest promise. Unfortunately, the loop still has promises to keep.

World experts a few years ago generally believed the loop was the answer to the population explosion. The small white plastic coil, costing only a penny or so to manufacture, is inserted into the female uterus; unlike sterilization, this simple contraceptive technique is not necessarily permanent. But in a rush to show results, India moved too fast with the loop. Mobile vans carrying medics to insert loops whisked through villages. Necessary medical procedures such as pelvic examinations and follow-ups frequently were bypassed. The backwater women, some of whom use cow dung to stem the menstrual flow, were not given proper information on hygiene or the possible aftereffects of the loop.

Such oversights proved near disastrous in rural areas, where 80 percent of India's population lives. The loop caused side effects such as bleeding, cramps and backaches. The women were appalled. Many removed the loop. A whisper campaign publicized the evils of the device. Result: loop insertions have decreased drastically throughout India. One family planning official declared the loop "dead" in his state.

Roughly the same troubles plague the US-subsidized sterilization program. India encourages both tubectomy operations for females and vasectomies for males. Emphasis is on the latter – a neat 10-minute sterilization job where a small incision is made in the scrotum and the *vas deferens* – spermatic tube – is cut and tied. As Dr. Chandrasekhar boasts, more persons – over four million – have been sterilized in India than in all other countries of the world combined. But the program also has suffered from poor administration, and vasectomy candidates are increasingly hard to find. Young boys, in perhaps isolated but well-publicized cases, have been maneuvered into sterilizations without understanding the permanent consequence. Accusations have been made that high-ranking family-planning officials heavily pressure their subordinates to fill monthly quotas of sterilizations. This sometimes spurs a last-minute roundup of half-willing sterilization candidates, who later damage the program with their complaints. Moreover, a vasectomy incentive fee (about five dollars) is split among the person sterilized, the performing doctor and the middleman who recruits the vasectomy candidate. In at least one section of Bihar state, money-hustling recruiters of sterilization candidates organized an informal union.

Practically the only birth-control method functioning as it should is the condom. AID in 1967 began shipment of nearly 200 million condoms to India. America's new policy of international birth prevention clashed embarrassingly with archaic domestic inhibitions: the first batch of US condoms were stamped "Sold for the Prevention of Disease." Besides exposing a few US hypocrisies, India's need for condoms created rather strange ideological bedfellows. A US-financed condom factory – India's first – recently opened in the Communist-run state of Kerala. The state's family-planning minister is a Catholic-Marxist. (In Nepal, US condoms are distributed through a Russian-built cigarette factory.)

The Ford Foundation devised an unconventional logistics system for condom distribution. The world's largest independent organization supporting birth control, Ford has sunk $6 million into population-control projects in India (more than three times the United

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Nations' total worldwide birth-control support). Condoms are sold to the public under the Ford plan through six national retail outlets, including the American-affiliated companies of Lipton Tea, Union Carbide and Hindustan Lever. After the retailers skim off a bit of profit, the Indian purchaser pays about two cents for three condoms – a bargain in any country. The system still has kinks, though, and better condom advertising is sorely needed. The present government-sponsored advertisement for condoms depicts a large hand backed by the assertion: "Men! The Power to Prevent Births is in Your Hands." An AID official wryly suggests the ad looks more like a pitch for masturbation than birth control.

Getting the proper message about contraception to the public is a serious problem. Emerson Foote, former chairman of McCann-Ericson, recently was brought over to assess India's methods of birth control promotion. Foote's apocalyptic ads for birth control often appear in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* (sample: "Pope Denounces Birth Control While Millions Starve"). Foote found the Indian program lacking. "Not more than 10 percent of the village people are getting the word," he told me in New Delhi. "And that's where most of the population lives." Modern Madison Avenue techniques, he believes, would be more effective than India's current campaign of Big Brother repetition.

The Indian population program already has a distinctly American aura of gimmickry. An American Ford Foundation consultant recently headed a lighthearted drive to buy an elephant for the birth control program. The elephant was plastered with birth control posters and sentenced, like a pachyderm Sisyphus, to spend her life trudging to Indian villages with the message. An American economist developed a yet unaccepted plan, a sort of soil bank for babies, whereby mothers would be awarded government bonds for not having children. The bonds would mature after 20 birthless years.

Some nongovernment US demographers severely criticize the emphasis on gimmicks. "They've neglected the basic administrative system, which is good clean clinics and a strong educational program," explains one critic. The 1,856 urban family-planning centers targeted by the government fall far short of the number needed in a country with 500,000 villages. Less than half the minimum 20,000 doctors required for the program have been recruited. So far, progress has been measured inadequately in terms of numbers of loops inserted and sterilizations performed.

Another highly qualified critic predicts failure unless India renovates its baroque bureaucracy. "India still has the old control-oriented government system left over from the British colonial era," says a US expert. "It was designed to quell riots, not to push development." Many Indian politicians are more concerned with saving their elected skins than pressing for controversial reforms to boost birth control. The ruling Congress Party, once sustained by the heroic presence of Gandhi and Nehru, has deteriorated in recent years, and politicians now are busy nervously seeking new alliances and coalitions. The so-called "Green Revolution" – the tremendous recent food growth from revolutionary hybrid seeds – hasn't helped the family planners, either. With increased food production, many officials no longer feel the urgency of birth control.

American officials in New Delhi are caught in the crosscurrents of Indian lethargy and Washington demands for results. An AID report, not yet shown to the Indian government, pessimistically states that to show appreciable results the birth control program "will require massive and multiple mobilization of resources at perhaps ten times the present level."

But what can the US do? Build the needed clinics? Dispatch medics to perform sterilization? American Peace Corps volunteers already have been assigned to three birth-control projects in India. In the latest project, young American volunteers train Indian practical nurses in loop insertion and other contraceptive techniques. "We haven't violated propriety," reflects a Peace Corps doctor on the US role in the sensitive program, "but then again we haven't defined our limits yet."

Few disagree that the US role has yet to be fully defined. The trouble stems partly from the swiftness of the revolution in Washington. "Family planning is a very complex thing," says India AID chief John P. Lewis, who becomes dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School this fall. "There's no question of its position on the agenda. But when beginning a long marathon, it's important not to start like a sprinter." Some observers contend that Washington has jumped off in the right direction but in the wrong gear. Says another official: "The pressure from Washington to use the family-planning appropriations threw us into an almost Vietnam style of programming."

How much assistance the US gives India depends, of course, upon the Indian government. "We can't help unless they want us to," says Emerson Foote. "But we must be good salesmen." Mr. Nixon's new drummer is Ambassador Kenneth Keating – a strong advocate of population control. Keating preceded Bill Draper as chairman of the Population Crisis Committee. Sources here predict US policy on foreign birth control will be brought into sharper focus during Ambassador Keating's term. Hopes are that it will be a cautiously reasoned policy, not influenced unduly by those Americans driven by a vision of the apocalypse, or by those standing in dogmatic opposition to birth control.

More definite guidelines are needed. As a US anthropologist here says: "Manipulating a society is a terrifying thing."

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EDUCATION

The Talent Corps
Career Ladders for Bottom Dogs

by Joseph Featherstone

New York

The Talent Corps – "A College for Human Services" – was started by a handful of reformist middle-class ladies with the idea of training poor women for jobs working as assistants to professionals in what are called the human services, schools, hospitals, and other social agencies. On the face of it, this is not a terribly radical proposition. Yet as it evolves into a two-year institution of higher learning, the Talent Corps finds itself cutting more and more against the grain of our educational order. What follows is a report on this intriguing institution and some of the issues its existence raises.

Unfortunately, I have to start with a detour. The Talent Corps is in some respects a refinement of a set of ideas that have been in the air since the early '60s, when America began to rediscover poverty, and a number of theorists – I suppose the first was the sociologist Frank Riessman – proposed creating new careers for the poor, setting up permanent jobs in various understaffed human service areas of the economy, jobs that would include career ladders, on-the-job training allowing able poor people to rise to professional positions. Such programs, the argument ran, would provide decent work for many, improved services, and help reduce the level of warfare between professionals and the poor neighborhoods they supposedly serve.

The new careers theorists have subsequently managed to touch on a good many absurdities in the organization of American life. They note the massive shortages of teachers, social workers, and such, all in sectors of the economy likely to mushroom. They say that existing vocational programs are a costly disaster, equipping people for obsolete jobs – like the unhappy students I once saw in a Boston school, sitting on the asphalt studying for an agriculture course. Above all, the proponents of new careers raise serious questions about our entire system of licensing and credentialling professionals. It makes little sense to demand four years of an academic high school program and lengthy, specialized college and graduate school training to produce a preschool teacher or a street-worker. And it is obvious that many service jobs require qualities – such as an ability to learn from practical experience, patience, kindliness, and responsiveness – that no graduate school has yet been able to incorporate into its curriculum. Many such jobs could probably be filled by poor people lacking the necessary credentials, if only there were alternatives to the existing meritocratic entryways.

All this remains true, and yet, with some exceptions, the new careers programs have not been as successful as their originators hoped. Plenty of new jobs have resulted – some 300,000 people are working as "paraprofessionals," in public schools, various programs sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and hospitals and health services around the country – but many of them have remained wretched and badly-paid dead ends. Federal and big-city authorities have filled entire file cases with paper career ladders which, as matters stand, few living souls will ever climb.

Although they have made a number of footholds, and are organizing to make more – in groups like the National Association of New Careerists – the new careers advocates are still scrabbling at the complex surfaces of the system's walls. In some ways the reasons for this lack of progress look perfectly simple. In the first place, it is an ancient guild union rule, understood throughout the ages by all professions, that restricted entry increases

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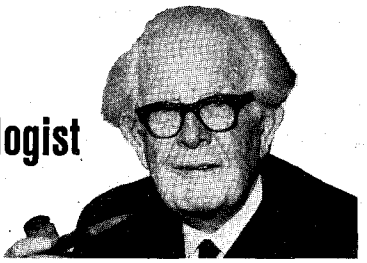

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By Eleanor Burke Leacock

What brings about the obvious "miseducation" of many pupils, particularly the black and the poor? Unsettling answers to this and other key questions are found in this "eminently useful comparative study of different kinds of schools — white and black, lower and middle class — supporting the thesis that it is not middle class values but the devaluation of the poor which is at the root of much of our miseducation." — *Margaret Mead.* *Just published $7.50*

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the power and earnings of the brotherhood. This rule has been extended vigorously by professional groups in America into areas like social work and medicine, where it would seem to an outsider's eye that shortages of trained people will nearly always be a problem. In the second place, the notion of enlarging the potential of bottom dogs flies in the face of one of the important, unstated functions of the schools, which is to act as social sieves separating out those who make it from those who don't. And in the third place, training professionals on the job, emphasizing performance, rather than credentials, disrupts the lines of gravitational force exerted by the graduate schools, which have succeeded in refashioning college teaching in their own professional image – virtually killing off older notions of liberal arts education in the process – and are now altering the shape of high school education as well. Thus working against any expansion of the new careers notion would seem to be a powerful combination of class and institutional interests, plus one of the greatest of social forces, inertia. As a number of despairing social critics have noted, these processes are at work everywhere. They are nationally standardized, like methods for stamping out sheet metal.

The immense and stifling uniformity is certainly intimidating. There are, however, forces running in another direction, even though it is hard to gauge their strength. One fact of major importance is the crisis in public services in our cities, among whose myriad causes is a genuine shortage of various kinds of professional help: at the lower levels of the public service hierarchies, at least, new people can be absorbed without threatening existing jobholders. Another fact is the failure of high schools and colleges to open up real alternatives to the academic grind; for more and more children of the affluent, as well as many children of the poor, the curriculum is, in the vague and well-worn phrase, irrelevant. Genuinely educational work-study alternatives would be welcome, but the schools seem atrophied and unable to act. Within certain of the multiversities, there are soft stirrings in work-study directions. At the same time, other groups and other interests are emerging. In education, for example, the rising teachers' unions and professional groups want more control over entry and promotions, which are still the

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hands of what often looks like a conspiracy between the management of the schools and the teachers colleges. They see that one way to break this hold and give more influence to teachers would be to make training more clinical – centered in schools and classrooms – than it currently is. And in education and other fields, some of the new public service unions are becoming eager to organize and represent "paraprofessionals." In New York, for example, both District Council 37 of the state and municipal workers' union, and the United Federation of Teachers have been busy organizing; District Council 37 has devised an interesting plan for hospital assistants to train on the job and qualify as practical nurses. (Some of the recent concern for new careers programs on the part of the unions reflects a perhaps too rosy anticipation of a day when demands for released study time, university credit for on-job training, and educational sabbaticals will be discussed at the bargaining tables.) Clearly the future of these issues in the cities is also bound up with the future of the struggle for community control and more lay participation in schools and other institutions. An aspect of the community control tangle is the drive for more jobs and professional openings for blacks and Puerto Ricans. This provides new careers programs with a constituency. If an accord is ever reached between the professional groups and ghetto residents, one item in the peace treaty may be many more openings and career ladders for local people.

If, in spite of conflicting forces, new careers programs can spread, they will still have to solve many of the problems plaguing them now. To understate the matter ludicrously, our public service bureaucracies are not accustomed to enhancing the potential of the people working them, particularly those on the bottom – who in the hospitals get the scut work, and in the schools end up spending all their time addressing envelopes. Leaving aside racial issues – which should never really be left aside – administrators are often too busy to cooperate with training programs. When they have the time, even with the best will in the world, they often don't know how; they aren't used to thinking of themselves as educators, and of jobs as places where people learn things. Another bureaucratic dilemma is that new careers programs are usually negotiated into existence

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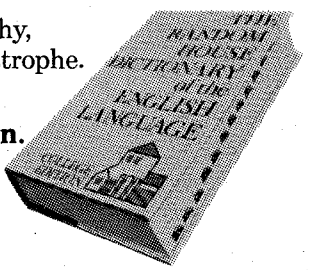

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN FRANCE, 1918-1940

John E. Talbott

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by different, mutually suspicious agencies in an atmosphere compounded of equal parts of empire-building and buck-passing. It is often far from clear who has responsibility for making work a learning experience. Nobody is in charge, a state of affairs that may be meat and drink to some veterans of the civil service treadmills, but which makes it unlikely that anything will get accomplished. More or less by default, everyone has recourse to the contemporary American response to all social problems: they turn responsibility for training over to local universities or junior colleges which are, as a rule, unprepared to give practical training and not adept at reaching people with very little educational background. This sad fact – that most universities aren't good at giving practical training – is rediscovered daily as the universities are pushed and tempted into doing more and more of the work of other failing institutions. It is scarcely news, though; for years, graduates of teachers' colleges have been pointing out that universities can't teach you how to teach. There are exceptions to this pattern of fumbling – a few junior colleges and universities are working to set up truly clinical and inductive programs; in general, though, the mesh of the world of academic credits and the world of jobs and services is very hard to make.

Another problem in some new careers efforts is relationships with students. Supervising students in any work-study arrangement is difficult. Just relating study intelligently to work is a difficult educational task in itself. When middle-class professionals face poor and black students there are also the usual misunderstandings, suspicion, and racism. Nor does it take a bigot or a snob to anticipate that people who have met failure in schools and jobs carry a full measure of anger and anxiety – they need sustained concern and encouragement. This fact is awkwardly related to a final perplexity of the new careers programs: the difficulty in screening out unpromising people. The programs begin with a laudable desire to get away from the usual, corrupting standards – high school diplomas, and the even less reliable filters of class and racial perceptions, which end up picking the scrubbed candidate with the yassuh manners. Still, it does not stand to reason that everybody would be equally good at, say, lay therapy with drug addicts. In the absence of the supposedly hard, objective standards now so prevalent in America, and in their fear of expressing bias, people find it hard to bring themselves to making personal judgments as to which applicants are more suitable. If they had more time, money, and margin for mistakes, they might be able to work on sensible procedures for matching candidates to jobs; but they usually don't.

The Talent Corps, which has existed in several forms since 1964 – it started out only admitting women and was called the Women's Talent Corps – has faced many of these problems, and it certainly has not solved most of them. It is remarkable first because of the quality of its program – a good place for learning is always rare and worth noting – and second because it is evolving in interesting and different directions from most new careers programs. Now it is in the process of becoming a "College for Human Services," with a charter from New York state to grant its students two-year junior college degrees. This may seem like small beer, but in a world of oppressive institutional samenesses, the Talent Corps is trying to become a model for reforming higher education in this country.

The students it admits are adults (still mostly women) between the ages of 21 and 60. Half are on welfare at the beginning of their training. 80 per cent are black, and 15 per cent are Puerto Rican, the remainder being Chinese and white. Most have families and a third have four or more children to take care of when they go home in the evening. There are more applicants

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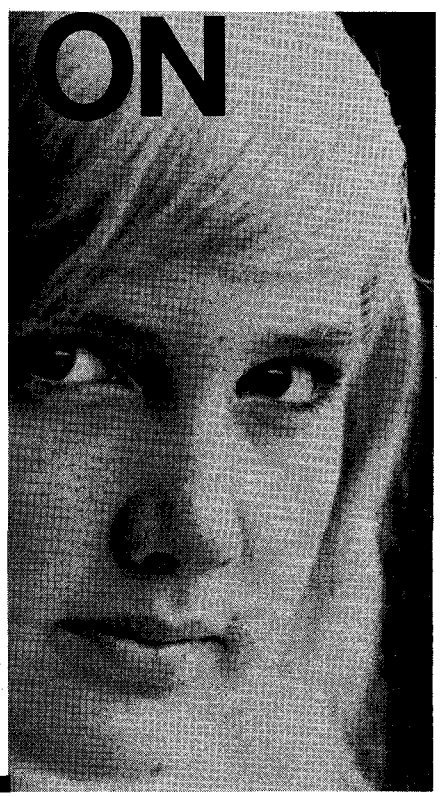

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than places – last year, 2,500 for 200 places. (Many are rejected because their income exceeds the levels of certifiable poverty set by the US Department of Labor which pays for much of the Talent Corps operation: $3,200 yearly income for a family of four. Students are chosen on the basis of simple written tests and a series of interviews. The tests are not stiff – reading and writing ability at something like a 6th to an 8th grade level: About half the Talent Corps students have high school degrees. What the interviewers say they look for is elusive – interest, eagerness, social concern. In practice final selection to the program depends on whether there are openings for on-the-job training in an applicant's neighborhood.

The curriculum combines work and study – three days of work in a school, hospital or whatever alternating with two days of classes at the Talent Corps. The classes make considerable demands on the students, for the assumption – not common in ordinary job training programs – is that poor adults from the ghetto are interested in learning theoretical and academic materials, as well as picking up the basic skills necessary to make their way in the credentialling economy. There is a "core" curriculum that everybody takes in the first year. It resembles some of the better "problems" courses you see in colleges and good high schools, some psychology, readings in topics like education, and a heavy dose of sociology and social issues, particularly ghetto issues. In some of the classes I watched, for example, groups of students were preparing surveys of things like police and health services in different small communities they had chosen. (One group studied suburban White Plains and was surprised to find some slums.) In theory the academic work is related to experiences drawn from students' job experiences, and in practice this does sometimes happen. Some of the best discussions I heard arose from field-work situations, hospital trainees explaining defects in the hospital services, swapping horror stories.

It's always hard to know what students think about any course of study, but some I spoke to had certainly carried away ideas to digest, and were glad enough to talk about them with various degrees of self-consciousness. One very shrewd lady whose field work was in the schools had worked up Montessori, *Summerhill*, and a number of other works, and then had gone around to private schools in the city to check up on the differences in practice: she had a good eye for fraud, and was amusing on the shapes educational ideas get twisted into. (Others felt the education courses were too theoretical.) In general, psychology seemed to click with the students, and as I listened to two of them I tried to remember something I had heard a teacher say about adult education: that the first great thing about it was the hunger for interpreting past experiences that mature students bring to a class, and the second great thing was the conviction of people who had missed an education one time around that knowledge was an important thing. It would be misleading to say that this reflects the whole spirit of the Talent Corps: the chief impressions a visitor carries away are the variety of the students and the incredibly different levels and interests on which they are talking. (Some students have noticed this, too, and have asked for grouping in some classes.)

The curriculum in this setting seems to work, although the idea of a set curriculum always rubs me the wrong way. If I had my druthers about the Talent Corps, there would be less of the core and more options for students to pursue their own interests. Yet there is a point, as well as a John Deweyish earnestness to all this community study – the students are thinking about their work – and in practice it's attractive. Some of the earnest tone comes through in two quotes from students' papers I read. The first is: "In a democratic society we believe in the extraordinary possibilities of ordinary people." And the other is from a report that captures the more sardonic view of

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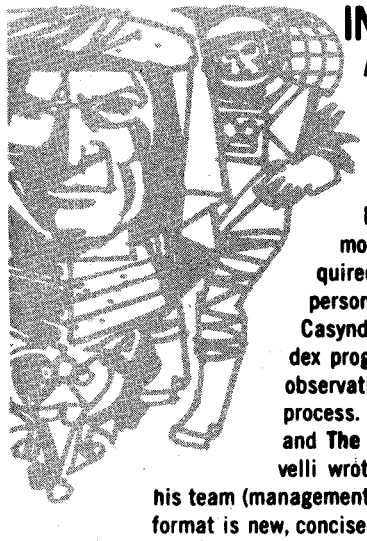

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JOHN HOLT

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—John Holt in THE UNDERACHIEVING SCHOOL

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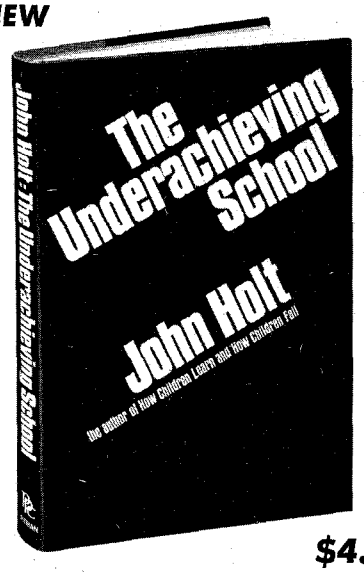
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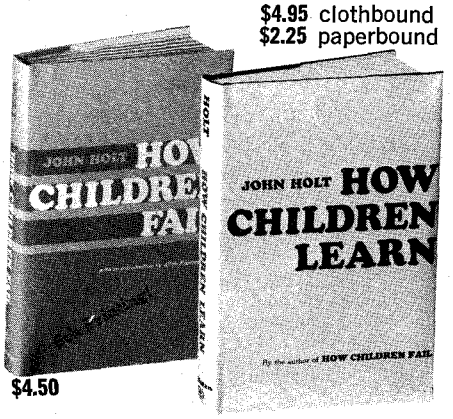

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some of the trainees in different agencies: "The buildings which they have chosen to bypass are the ones that make this area blighted. They are mostly located in the northern half of this area, which is actually the end of the well-known area, Bedford-Stuyvesant. In five years, this portion of the area will be like the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant, and the southern half will be well on its way. It appears to me that the city must have a slum, and it's now preparing Crown Heights to fill Bed-Stuy's shoes."

The teachers here, unlike so many places, are engaged in teaching a curriculum they helped design; with general backgrounds in teaching and social work, they are not engaged in the silly business of drawing distinctions between themselves and their knowledge and the students and their ignorance. (In the second year where the academic program consists of a variety of courses without a core program, more of the teachers are university people, who seem popular.) Nonetheless, the content of the curriculum is quite secondary. What seems to be going on most often in a lot of these classes is a kind of teaching at a very fundamental level. I don't mean basic skills in reading and writing, although there is plenty of that, too, and it's needed – but all sorts of things that poor people might have missed out on, note-taking, interviewing, filling out forms, writing simple reports, taking part in a discussion. (I mentioned this last to one lady, and she laughed: "Yeah, that's right. You got to know the game.") There's a lot of role-playing, and in things like the community studies, students – including terribly shy and soft-spoken Puerto Rican ladies – have to go out and talk to policemen and hospital officials, to poll opinions from people in the street, to do surveys and handle simple problems of sampling, to speak up bravely enough on the telephone so you get an appointment. There are hundreds of small things to do, each of which is not really all that difficult, and that, I guess is part of the point. At times it seems tedious and you wonder whether students really gain confidence from this sort of thing: the answer is that some do and some don't, just as some teachers are clearly better at pulling it off than others, for whom it looks more like dull busywork.

Trainees are assigned to field work throughout the city. Of the 210 first-year students, the biggest group is in the New York schools, the next largest is in hospitals, and health services, with the rest scattered throughout some 30-odd agencies. It is here where the program varies most in its effects on students, for – while it controls the academic setting – the Talent Corps is, like other new careers programs, vulnerable to the agencies whose placements it needs. A particular set of teachers, called field coordinators, is responsible for supervising both class work and field work for small groups of around ten students. The coordinators go out to the agencies, set up the definitions of the training jobs and try to ride herd on students' supervisers in the field, but there are limits on how much they can accomplish. As it places more and more people successfully, the Talent Corps establishes contacts and acquires something of a reputation. This is strength of a kind, but it still plays from weakness much of the time.

Let me take the schools as an example. One of the Talent Corps' greatest coups so far came about as the result of lengthy negotiations between Audrey Cohen, its executive director, and the New York school system: the system agreed to offer poor people – among them Talent Corps trainees – a program that could, theoretically, carry them upward from the rank of teachers' assistant to the rank of teacher. The concession was small – only 1,200 places for the whole city – but the principle of the career ladder was established. There were, however, catches; and each discovery of a new catch meant a new round of negotiations. Only a rare school administrator had sufficient elbow room to be able to increase the responsibilities of trainees as they moved from step to step on the ladder. And it turned out that, despite all sorts of assurances, people couldn't move out of the bottom slots without first acquiring a high school diploma; and you couldn't get very far above that without the equivalent of two years in college. These were severe demands on working people with families. To get a diploma, you either had to take the two-day equivalency exam, which scares off many capable candidates, particularly the math part, which is too hard; or you could attend night schools, which are exhausting, boring, and often rigidly frozen into the formulas of high school academic programs. Ultimately, Mrs. Cohen got the system to waive the high school

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diploma requirement for her graduates. Now one problem is that the rates of pay at the bottom are really too low to support a family; another is that the school system keeps losing the paychecks of teaching assistants and aides. This has to be taken up with the unions. And so on and so on.

From talks with the teaching trainees, it seemed to me that in the schools, as in other agencies, the quality of the experience depended on the supervision you got. Most of the teachers in schools the Talent Corps works with now are eager to get assistants, but occasionally a school will signal its distrust and fear of employing the natives – like the school that wouldn't give assistants keys to lockers or classrooms. I read part of a field report that seemed typical of some of the bad experiences of the trainees who picked lemons: "[The teacher] had several conversations with Mrs. G. [the trainee] in which she said that this idea of creating jobs for Negroes was bad, that Negroes should earn their equality by being better than white people. She refused to call her anything but 'aide,' and she didn't give Mrs. G. any work to do. Mrs. G. handled the situation very well. . . . She created her own work by looking for opportunities. She listened carefully to the lessons [the teacher] taught and watched the children closely to see how well they understood. . . . She also created the kind of relationship with the children that made them approach her with problems they couldn't solve. So she created her own small group. . . ." It is worth noting as an impression, though, that the trainees in schools seemed more enthusiastic than any other group I talked to.

The experiences with the schools are repeated with other agencies, in different forms. The trainees are good, the education they are getting is good, the problems usually center on meshing study and work and getting places in which people can learn as they work. This seems simple, but it isn't.

Bottom Dogs Subsidize Top Dogs

The Equality Fiction

by W. Lee Hansen and Burton A. Weisbrod

The claim that the American system of higher education contributes to equality of educational opportunity is largely fiction. This year well over $11 billion of tax funds spent on higher education will seriously violate the egalitarianism principle. Seemingly, public colleges and universities are open to all, but the truth falls far short of this. In practice, a perverse redistribution of higher education subsidies from low-income to high-income families takes place. Those with the most need for higher education are getting the least in terms of public benefits.

Studies of public higher education have recently been completed for the states of California, Florida, and Wisconsin. Because our study of California is the most comprehensive we shall focus on it.

The following material is drawn from our book, *Benefits, Costs, and Finance of Public Higher Education*, Markham Publishing Company, Chicago, $3.95, published September 1.

California possesses a vast and in many respects a model system of public higher education. Tuition is zero. College campuses abound, with at least a junior college in every sizeable community. And it has the largest percentage of any state's high school graduates going on to college. Undergraduate students all receive large public subsidies, although the amounts differ greatly with the type of school attended. A student fortunate enough to attend the University of California in the mid-1960s received an average subsidy of about $5,000, but a California State College student only $3,000, and a junior college student about $1,000. Of course, some got even

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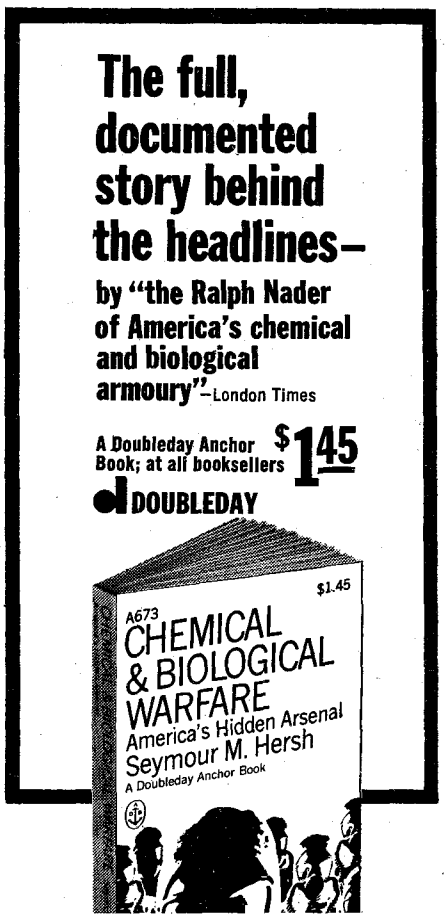
larger subsidies: a student completing four years at the university received a total subsidy of over $7,000. By "subsidy" we mean the difference between tuition – which in California is zero – and the sum of average instructional costs (professors' salaries, operating expenses, etc.) and capital costs (the value of services provided by building, equipment, and land).

Many youngsters, however, receive no subsidies at all, because they do not go to college (or, at least, not to a public college in their own state), and many others receive little, because they are in college only briefly.

The highest subsidies go to students at the University of California (UC). But UC accepts only the upper eighth of all high school graduates, and these are largely children from well-to-do family backgrounds. Students from families with incomes above $25,000 are four times as likely to be eligible as are those from families with incomes below $4,000. Moreover, among eligible students, twice as large a percentage from high-income families actually attend the UC as do those from low-income families. The selectivity process restricts the availability of large subsidies to all but high-income families.



The end result is that California's three higher education systems – the University, the State Colleges (SC), and the Junior Colleges (JC) – educate three different general classes of students and, in turn, provide three different levels of subsidies. (The same is true for many other states – including Florida, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois, to name a few – that have a multiple-tiered higher education system.) The UC has the highest-income students – their family incomes average more than $12,000 – and provides the largest subsidies – $5,000 per student. Meanwhile, the JCs attract the lowest-income students – with $8,800 average family income – and provide the lowest subsidies – about $1,000. The SC students are in between, with family incomes of $10,000 and subsidies of $3,800. Thus, the average subsidy received by students at the UC is 30 percent greater than that received by SC students, and is 400 percent greater than the JC subsidy – in spite of the fact that "need," as reflected by family income, runs in the opposite direction.

The upshot: even in California, with its extensive higher education system, over 40 percent of families with college-age children receive *no public subsidy at all*, while a most fortunate ten percent receive subsidies over $5,000.

Consideration of the taxes people pay does not alter these striking redistributional effects. There is no satisfactory way to isolate the taxes that go for education, and so we can only compare *total* state and local taxes (for all public services) with the subsidies provided by public higher education. However, higher education consumes roughly ten percent of state and local tax revenue in California, whose state-local tax system is essentially proportional to income over most of the income range.

The inescapable conclusion is that the structure and financing of public higher education in California heightens rather than narrows inequalities in economic opportunities. The situation is no different in other states. State tax systems are either proportional (to income) or regressive (i.e., high-income taxpayers pay a smaller percentage of their income in taxes than low-income persons).

Nationally, a larger percentage of low than of high-income youngsters drop out of high school and so are not eligible to receive any higher-education subsidies. Those low-income students who are eligible to go to higher educational institutions most often wind up at institutions where the education subsidy is lowest. And they are more likely to drop out before graduation. For these and other well-known reasons, the cards are stacked against low-income youngsters. Yet because tax revenues are used to support higher education, the anomalous result is lower-income families not only do not receive significant amounts of public higher-education subsidies but actually pay a larger fraction of their income in taxes to support higher education than do more affluent families. At a time when pressures are mounting to reduce disparities between privileged and disadvantaged, it is clear that something has gone awry. The mythology of equal educational opportunity for all is just that: mythology.

It is clear that the present structure and financing of public higher education needs to be reformed. One important possibility is to revamp the tax structure, making state and local taxes more progressive. This would increase taxes most for higher-income families and wipe out some but not all of the redistributive effects. But it wouldn't discriminate between families with and without children in college, or between those in public and in private colleges.

Another approach is to set tuition much closer to the full instructional and capital costs of college, and then to provide financial aid to students who cannot afford the full cost. This is essentially what private schools now do through their financial aid programs. Judging from the recent actions of state legislatures in raising tuition and fees, there is some sentiment for moving in this direction even at public colleges. Unless, however, every increase in tuition for those who can afford it is accompanied by an increase of loan and scholarship funds for those who cannot afford it, the goal of greater equality of opportunity will continue to be only a distant vision. Unhappily, while tuition rates at public colleges are rising rapidly, student-aid funds are lagging and federal student-loan and scholarship funds are actually drying up.

More important than either of these reforms, public subsidies should be available to *all* young people, not just college students. Those for whom the best way to increase earning power is through apprenticeships, on-the-job training or night school deserve an equal chance in their struggle for productive and satisfying lives.

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What Color Is IQ?

Intelligence and Race

by Christopher Jencks

"There is an increasing realization among students of the psychology of the disadvantaged that the discrepancy in their average performance cannot be completely or directly attributed to discrimination or inequalities in education. It seems not unreasonable, in view of the fact that intelligence variation has a large genetic component, to hypothesize that genetic factors may play a part in this picture. But such an hypothesis is anathema to many social scientists. The idea that the lower average intelligence and scholastic performance of Negroes could involve not only environmental but also genetic factors had indeed been strongly denounced. But is has been neither contradicted nor discredited by evidence."

Had an article expressing this view appeared in a technical journal, or at a time when liberal ideas were less on the defensive, or under the name of a Southern segregationist, it would probably have passed unnoticed. But it appeared in the winter *1969 Harvard Educational Review*, under the name of Arthur Jensen, one of the nation's leading educational psychologists, at a time when liberal ideas about the causes and cures of racism are badly discredited. So "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" has been trumpeted around the world by *Time, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report, The New York Times*, and a dozen syndicated columnists, has been discussed at a Cabinet meeting, and has made its author the most publicized (and vilified) figure in psychology today.

Jensen makes at least four distinct arguments. First, he asserts that compensatory education for disadvantaged children has failed to increase their IQ scores. Second, he argues that children with low IQ's tend to be genetically as well as environmentally handicapped, and that efforts to raise their IQ's by improving the school environment are consequently misguided. Third, he argues that genes play a major role not just in IQ differences among individuals from the same ethnic or socio-economic group, but also in IQ differences between such groups. Fourth, he concludes that we can nonetheless teach the Three R's to low-IQ children if we place less emphasis on the manipulation of abstractions and more emphasis on rote learning. Jensen presents the first and last of these arguments very sketchily, and I will not try to deal with them here. The bulk of his article is devoted to the proposition that individuals with low IQ's typically differ genetically from those with high IQ's, and it is the clearest exposition of this subject ever published. Jensen's critics, who replied in the Spring issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*, offer no persuasive evidence against his position. Jensen goes on to argue that IQ differences between groups also have a genetic component. Here he is far from persuasive – though neither, I regret to say, are his critics.

The idea that biological differences between individuals affect their intelligence is hardly new. The pioneers of the mental testing movement in America believed men were born different, and they set out to develop tests that would measure those differences. While their efforts were not wholly successful, neither were they a complete flop. They created a variety of mental tests whose results, while clearly influenced by individual experience, also showed a strong independent relationship to heredity. The tests whose results proved to be most influenced by heredity and least by environment were individually administered IQ tests, such as the Stanford-Binet. Group tests of IQ or aptitude turned out to be more subject to environmental influence than individual tests, and "achievement" tests more so than "aptitude" tests.

There has been a great deal of debate about whether these IQ tests really measure "intelligence." Some critics maintain that they measure only one aspect of intelligence, which psychologists happen to think important because they have a lot of it. Others maintain that the tests measure only familiarity with middle-class culture. Psychologists usually sidestep the question by defining "intelligence" as "whatever IQ tests measure," which is a bit confusing since 99 percent of the population continues to use the word "intelligence" in a different way. It seems safer to say merely that IQ tests measure IQ, whatever that may be, and then to investigate whether people with high IQ's differ in any large way from people with low IQ's.

Critics of IQ testing argue that there is no way to determine whether IQ is intrinsically important. American children are given IQ tests, American adults are impressed (or depressed) by the results, and children are treated accordingly. This means that a high IQ score, like a white skin, will be an asset even if IQ itself is no more intrinsically important than skin color.

This argument can, however, easily be overdone. Many elementary schools, for example, use IQ tests to assign pupils to different classrooms and curriculums, and this may encourage low-IQ pupils to become poor readers and help high-IQ pupils become good readers. But there are also plenty of elementary schools which do *not* segregate high and low IQ pupils. IQ scores predict academic achievement with moderate accuracy in these schools too. Indeed, IQ predicts academic achievement moderately well even in schools which do not give IQ tests. Similarly, some high schools and many colleges today choose among applicants on the basis of group "aptitude" tests (like the College Board's famous SAT) which measure something like IQ. But even in 1918, before schools and colleges employed such tests, the Army found an

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extremely high correlation between men's scores on a group aptitude test and the number of years of schooling the men had completed. These relationships between IQ and academic success are as strong among blacks as among whites. So while IQ testing may be partly a matter of self-fulfilling prophecies, it is not just that.

On the other hand, neither a student's academic achievement nor the number of years of school he completes is *completely* determined by his IQ. There are all kinds of other things at work, of which family background is the most obvious and personality probably the most important. Taken together, all these have considerably more influence than IQ on both academic success and persistence in school. After school the importance of IQ diminishes even further. Men's IQ account for only about a fifth of the variation in their occupational status and a tenth of the variation in their incomes. These relationships are even weaker among blacks. The relationship between IQ and adult success results, moreover, largely from the fact that IQ is strongly related to the amount of schooling a man completes. Among men with the same amount of schooling, those with high IQ's are hardly more successful than those with low IQ's. IQ shows a moderate relationship to success in job-training programs, but almost no relationship to on-the-job success, once a man has managed to enter a particular calling.

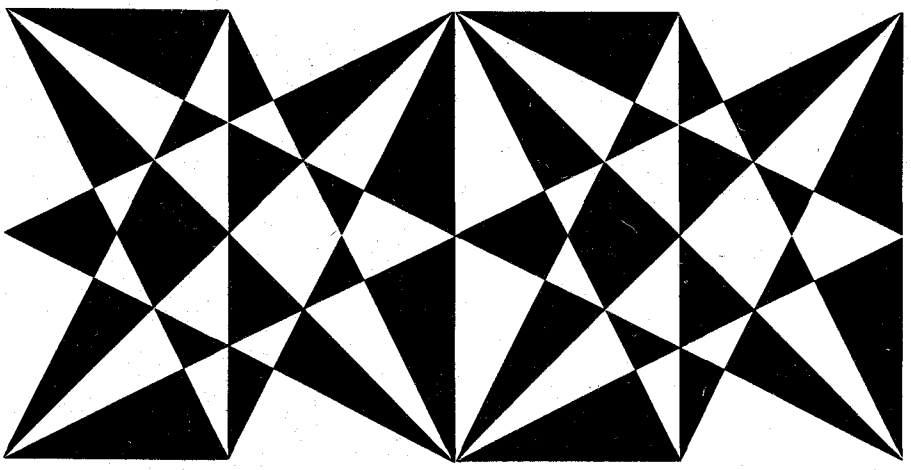
IQ also seems to play a role in mating. There are, it is true, some American subcultures in which people choose their mates on the basis of things like height, sex appeal, personality, and money, ignoring IQ. When this happens, the demographers say there is no "assortative mating" by IQ. In such a subculture the typical wife will have a husband with an IQ of 100 (the national average) no matter what her own IQ. In other American subcultures, however, the marriage market is closely tied to colleges and universities and there is a great deal of assortative mating by IQ. This mean that a woman with a high IQ is likely to have a husband whose IQ is well above average, and vice versa.

Taking America as a whole, it seems that the typical white woman marries somebody whose IQ is about halfway between her own and the national average. A woman with an IQ of 116, for example, typically marries a man with an IQ of about 108. At first glance this may seem to imply that a man with an IQ of 108 typically marries a woman with an IQ of 116, but that is not the case. The typical man with an IQ of 108 ends up with a wife whose IQ is about 104. In this respect the sexes are of necessity equal. Whether these patterns are found among black as well as white Americans nobody seems to know.

People with low IQ's are less likely to marry or have children than people with high IQ's. But once people with low IQ's have had one child they tend to have more than other people. The result is that fertility and IQ end up almost uncorrelated, at least in contemporary white America. Nobody knows, however, whether this has always been true. Nor does anybody know if it is true among blacks.

In brief, despite the conscious and unconscious biases influencing the construction of IQ tests, they appear to measure something of moderate importance. I stress the word "moderate." The evidence does not suggest that IQ is as important as those who live by their wits usually assume.

The next question is whether variations in IQ result primarily from variations in the environment to which people have been exposed, or whether they result from genetically determined differences in the way people respond to their environment. In trying to answer this question we have to remember that neither Jensen nor any other contemporary scholar claims that environment *can't* affect IQ scores. Children are not born putting round pegs in round holes and square pegs in square holes; they learn from experience. If the environment does not offer a child the chance to learn something, he doesn't learn it. This means it is easy to imagine (or even to create) environments in which no child, regardless of genetic potential, develops the knowledge or skills needed to do well on an IQ test. Jensen merely asserts that such environments are quite rare in modern America. As he sees it, most children have about the same opportunity to learn the things they need to know to do well on tests like the Stanford-Binet. So far as the development of IQ is concerned, Jensen thinks equality of opportunity is already a near reality. If he is correct,



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it follows that differences in IQ score *must* reflect genetically determined differences in the way people respond to their environment.

Jensen offers a variety of evidence for believing that IQ differences derive primarily from genetic differences, but two facts are especially relevant.

(1) Children reared in the same home tend to have very different IQ scores. This is particularly true of unrelated children, who have no genes in common. If you take random pairs of unrelated 10-year-olds, for instance, you can expect their mental ages to differ by an average of about twenty months. If you take random pairs of unrelated 10-year-olds who have shared the same home since the age of 6 months or less, their mental ages will still differ by an average of about 17 months. In the language of statistics, we can say that sharing the same home environment after the age of 6 months accounts for only 20-30 percent of the variation in unrelated children's IQ scores.

(2) Identical twins, who have all their genes in common, have quite similar IQ scores. This is true even when they are raised in different families and different social classes from the age of six months or less. Instead of mental ages that differ by an average of 20 months, these twins can be expected to show mean differences of only 7 to 10 months. Common genes, in other words, seem to account for 75-85 percent of the variation in such twins' IQ scores.

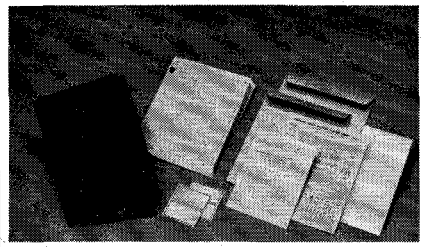
Studies such as these are not definitive. For one thing, they do not allow us to distinguish between the effect of inheritance and the effect of prenatal and early postnatal environments. There is strong evidence, however, that identical twins' prenatal environments are far from identical. Identical twins' birth weights, for example, differ more than do birth weights of nonidentical twins. Yet identical twins' IQ's differ much less than nonidentical twins. And nonidentical twins, who should be made more alike by sharing a common womb, are little more alike than siblings of different age and sex. All this suggests that prenatal environments, while clearly important in certain cases, aren't a very good explanation for most variations in IQ.

A more serious objection to these studies is that they cover very few children. There has been hardly any serious research along these lines in America for a generation. This would be understandable if all the early studies had been in agreement, but they were not. Different investigators measured IQ in different ways. The range of environmental variation was different in some studies than in others. Indeed, some of the best studies were done in England, not America. Different investigators reach different conclusions. Nonetheless, I do not think anyone could read through the enormous body of research on these problems and still believe that genes have *no* effect on IQ.

A precise estimate of the relative importance of heredity and environment in the development of IQ is almost certain to be wrong and is likely to be misleading. Jensen makes a number of simplifying assumptions and concludes that in contemporary white America environmental variations account for only a fifth of the variation in individual IQ scores, while genetic differences account for the other four-fifth. This estimate strikes me as high; my guess is that environment accounts for closer to a third than a fifth of the variation in white American IQ's. The critical point, however, is not the precise figure but the order of magnitude. Jensen is very likely correct in arguing that among white Americans the range of environmental variation is small enough so that it accounts for less of the total variation in IQ than genes.

The foregoing paragraph must be read carefully. It refers to IQ, not academic achievement, and it refers to white America, not all America. As noted earlier, and as Jensen's own argument also suggests, environment apparently has more influence on academic achievement than on IQ. More important, studies of children who are not reared by their natural parents can only tell us about the effects of environmental differences within groups whose parents adopt one another's children. We obviously have no studies of identical twins reared apart, in which one twin was black and raised in a black family while the other twin was white and raised in a white family. We do not even have any studies of unrelated children reared together in which one child was black and the other white. And if we did have such studies we would nonetheless have to question whether such children's environments were really similar.

Adoption studies, then, tell us a lot



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about individual differences within a given group but very little about differences between groups. Still, the usual reason for believing in genetic differences between races is that (a) "IQ is mainly determined by genes," and (b) "the IQ differences between races are very large." The first of these propositions is, as Jensen himself demonstrates very elegantly, an oversimplification. The second proposition is true but irrelevant. The typical black American scores below 80-90 percent of his white age-mates on virtually any test requiring abstract reasoning, be it verbal or nonverbal, "culture free" or "culture bound," "aptitude" or "achievement." This has been so since black-white differences in test performance were first measured during World War I. It is true at all ages above six. It is not true on certain tests commonly given before the age of six, but these early tests do not seem to measure the same thing as later IQ tests.

The fact that black-white IQ differences are large does not prove, however, that they are genetic in origin. The average white IQ is 100, while the black average is about 85. Something like a sixth of white identical twins reared apart show comparable differences. These differences are due to environment, since identical twins always have the same genes. If a sixth of the white families raising these twins differed enough to produce a 15-point IQ difference, it is surely conceivable that the typical white home and neighborhood also differs from the typical black home and neighborhood enough to produce such a difference.

Jensen makes a great deal of the fact that black children do worse on IQ and achievement tests, and are six times more likely to be mentally retarded, than white children at the same socio-economic level. But what does this prove? The fact that a black and a white child both have fathers who do the same kind of work or mothers who spent the same number of years in school does not mean the two children are treated the same way, either at home or elsewhere. Jewish children also do better on IQ tests than Christians at the same socio-economic level, but very few people conclude that Jews are genetically superior to Christians. Instead, we conclude that Jews treat their children differently from Christians, even when their occupations, incomes, and education are the same.

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This same line of reasoning applies to Jensen's comparison of American Negroes and American Indians. Indian children are much worse off economically than Negro children. Yet Indian children seem to do substantially better than Negroes on tests of academic competence. If socio-economic status were the only environmental factor affecting academic performance, we would have to conclude that Indians had a genetic advantage over Negroes which offset their environmental disadvantage. But since the available evidence suggests that socio-economic status is *not* the most important environmental factor influencing test scores, inferences about Negro-Indian genetic differences seem unwarranted.

If social and economic status is not the critical environmental factor influencing IQ, what is? There is evidence that conditions in the womb may be important. Jensen reports, however, that prenatal deprivation usually leads to poor performance on infant tests of physical coordination and development. Hence if large numbers of black babies suffered serious prenatal deprivation, we would expect them to do worse than whites on early tests of coordination and physical skills. They don't; in fact, they often do better. A committed environmentalist might argue that black babies' prenatal environments, while adequate for the early development of motor skills, stunt those parts of the brain which affect later capacity for abstract thinking. This theory seems rather far-fetched, however. While a significant number of black children may well suffer serious prenatal damage, Jensen's evidence suggests that we should probably look elsewhere to explain racial differences in IQ scores. But it hardly follows that we must look to genes. We might do equally well to look at patterns of child rearing.

Jensen's most plausible reason for believing in the existence of genetic differences between races is that fertility patterns among blacks are different from those among whites. Poorly educated black women *who marry* have more children than well-educated white women who marry. Well-educated white women who marry have more children than well-educated black women who marry. If (1) this difference holds when you include women who do not marry, and if (2) well-educated blacks are also high-IQ blacks, and if (3) high-IQ blacks are also genetically advantaged blacks, and if (4) racial differences in fertility patterns are of long standing rather than of recent origin, and if (5) these differences have not been offset by other tendencies working in the opposite direction, there must now be appreciable genetic differences between the typical black and the typical white. But all those "ifs" call for careful scrutiny, which they have not received from Jensen or anyone else.

Black men with high scores on the Armed Forces Qualification Test have usually had a lot more education than black men with low scores. This test is fairly well correlated with IQ. It is perfectly conceivable, however, that the same environmental advantages which lead to high educational attainment also lead to a high AFQT score, and that the genes which influence these scores do not influence how long a black man stays in school. Furthermore, the association between IQ and persistence in school only shows up among the better educated. This suggests that the association may have been a by-product of the expansion of educational opportunity as blacks moved off plantations. It is rash to suppose that present differences in fertility between highly educated and poorly educated blacks indicate long-standing fertility differences between high and low IQ blacks. On the contrary while it seems clear there is no significant relationship between IQ and fertility among contemporary white women, there is reason to suppose there may have been a negative relationship earlier in the industrial revolution. If so, it could be *whites* who are genetically disadvantaged.

None of this proves that blacks and whites are genetically indistinguishable. On the contrary, they are genetically different in a number of respects, of which skin color is only the most obvious. Furthermore, anybody who ponders the problem is likely to conclude that if two ethnic groups have different gene pools with respect to skin color, facial features, and so forth, they could also have different gene pools with respect to IQ. But all kinds of things *could* be true, whereas only a few *are* true.

Were there a dispassionate observer, who could look at these arguments without political or personal bias, I think he would conclude that neither Jensen nor his critics have offered a persuasive explanation of IQ differences between blacks and whites. He would probably also conclude that neither geneticists nor social scientists know enough about the determinants of IQ scores to design a study which would fully resolve our present confusion. Nonetheless, Jensen's decision to reopen this ancient controversy without first gathering more evidence strikes me as a serious political blunder.

Still, the topic *has* been reopened. This being so, it is important to keep reminding ourselves of a point I made at the outset: IQ, whatever its origin, plays a relatively modest role in determining a man's life chances. Even if IQ differences between blacks and whites have a genetic as well as an environmental basis, such differences have very little to do with the way blacks and whites are treated in contemporary America. Otis Dudley Duncan has shown, for example, that blacks with high IQ's are almost as disadvantaged economically as those with low IQ's. They are also disadvantaged in almost every other respect, from their dealings with the police to their dealings with landlords. Low IQ's are not the cause of America's racial problems and higher IQ's would not solve these problems. Any white reader who doubts this should simply ask himself whether he would trade the genes which make his skin white for genes which would raise his IQ 15 points.

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Mixing Up the Sexes is Downgrading

Watch Out Girls!

by Dexter M. Keezer

At the Mount Holyoke Commencement last year, David Riesman expressed what seems widely accepted as the oracular view when he assured members of the graduating class that they had been vastly underprivileged by not having enjoyed the intellectual advantages of coeducation. And in their monumental volume on "The Academic Revolution" he and Christopher Jencks state that "we are inclined to conclude that women's colleges are an anachronism." In support of this inclination they remark that "they [women's colleges] try to separate women from men when most women rightly want proximity," which might conceivably be just about the best possible reason for not having things worked out that way academically.

Not long ago, at a more primitive level of reflection, John Hersey, a master of Pierson College at Yale, prayed publicly for the speedy arrival of the young ladies of Vassar College in New Haven as matriculants at Yale to save the Yale undergraduates from a continuing cycle of orgiastic weekends after monastic midweek interludes. If the Yale undergraduates challenged Mr. Hersey's estimates of their flimsy social and sexual stability I missed it. I hope they did. But in so doing they would also perforce have tended to challenge the mod view that coeducation is in and women's colleges are a sort of vermiform appendage attached to a mid-19th century pair of bloomers – a view which seems to have been accepted at Vassar which, to share the presumed blessings of coeducation, is now working out a coeducational program on its own rather than with Yale – perhaps a slightly timid but understandable shift in the light of the Hersey analysis. Yale has also gone coed on its own.

In my view, however, both the quality of women's education and the cultural influence of women in the United States will be downgraded if women's colleges mix up the sexes in a big way. It is a view based on quite a few years of intimate observation of college coeducation at work and at play. This was some years ago, but it was as president of an institution (Reed College) which was a generation or so ahead of its times in a variety of ways, including the thoroughness of its coeducational intermingling. Since then, as a trustee, I have had the opportunity to study more closely than otherwise the operations of what was a good women's college (Elmira), a very new convert to coeducation. And I have lived in enough different parts of this country long enough to have been able to recognize the superior status enjoyed by women in the eastern part of the country where, I am sure, the presence of numerous strong women's colleges has played an important part in having it so.

It has been my observation that the extracurricular establishment of coeducational institutions, which plays a key part in shaping their educational character, is dominated by young men, and naturally enough. The young women attending these institutions have in mind, or heart, seeking a mate either actually or prospectively. In our culture this is not effectively done by vigorously challenging the wisdom and knowledge or authority of the young men. This comes later.

At Reed College there was an arrangement called interdormitory visitation which, when I first heard of it, I thought must be some kind of a skin disease. It actually turned out to be an ornate academic label for the arrangement to govern the amount of time the young men could spend in the young women's dormitories and *vice versa*. In keeping with what was then rather far out but now seems standard collegiate practice, it was felt that the young men and young women should have a major, perhaps decisive, role in determining how much time should be allowed for interdormitory visitation.

The representatives of the male students insisted, of course, that interdormitory visitation be an around-the-clock operation. They had no other choice if they were not to be regarded by most of their fellow male students as despicably unvirile. But quite a few

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of the young ladies covertly told me they would really welcome the privilege of being alone in their quarters for some of the time, and, at least by implication, asked for my help in protecting them in a bit of privacy. I tried and had some measure of statistical success. But, and this is the point, the young ladies did not speak out loud for themselves.

I cannot testify as to whether or not there was a similar balance inside of the classrooms because, in the remarkable distribution of academic prerogatives, it would have been an unpardonable intrusion for me to try to find out, by direct observation, what was going on. I was given to understand that in the classrooms, as well as without, the young ladies generally said "Amen" to what the young men regarded as their authoritative opinions, particularly in the social sciences and humanities.

I am sometimes assured that things have changed and that college coeds no longer are largely yes-ladies for the young men. I have seen what could be some fragments of evidence that this is the case, such as the presence of some Amazons on the barricades and on a "sleep-in" in the men's dormitories at Columbia University, but I do not find them convincing. Perhaps they will be more so when the term "coed" applies to young men as well as young women in our coeducational institutions.

On a more affirmative level of observation, I have, as a trustee of a women's college, met and talked at length with several delegations of students. In every case they displayed an impressively broad knowledge and understanding of the problems with which they have been concerned, and have communicated it in a remarkably articulate and vigorous way. In a coeducational college I think it is a safe bet that these same young women would, with few exceptions, provide passive backgrounds for the young men. And the exceptions, I suspect, would often be so far on the slightly hysterical side as to be relatively ineffective.

The capacity to think broadly and independently, and express themselves articulately and forcefully, which is nurtured in their students by a good women's college, comes to play a key role in the social and cultural life of the communities into which these students graduate. These communities are largely in the eastern part of the United States because this is where most of the strong women's colleges are, and from which most of their students come.

As one moves westward across the country the dominance of women in shaping the social and cultural life shrinks, and so does the presence of good women's colleges. It can and will be argued that these phenomena are not directly related, and that all sorts of other factors such as initial home environments and the role of women on the western-moving frontiers as burden bearers play a part in invalidating such a relationship. I submit, however, that the superior status of women in the eastern United States and hence in national leadership is substantially related to the education in independence, which many of these women have received at women's colleges.

In their volume on "The Academic Revolution," Riesman and Jencks refer to "the apparently growing gap between these [women's] colleges' faculties and the faculties of the big universities." In salaries paid and in scholarly and scientific prestige there is such a gap and it may well be growing. But the students in the big universities see relatively little of the leading faculty members, who are much preoccupied with their research and consulting operations. This is, of course, the root of much of the student disenchantment and unrest. In the women's colleges one of the key rewards must be the satisfaction of having done a fine teaching job, and it is my observation that it tends to be realized much more fully in the good women's colleges than it is in the great universities, with their dazzling arrays of scholars *in absentia*. So, both inside and outside of the classroom, I believe the good women's colleges will be downgrading and diluting their educational performances by succumbing to the modish pressure to become coeducational, and that their students will be downgrading their own education by hurrying off to the men's colleges and universities now welcoming them.

I am told that the current pressure on the women's colleges, particularly economic pressure, to go coeducational is so great that in some cases their very institutional survival seems to depend on submitting to it. However, this is a pressure that some courage and willingness to do some rather lean living for a period can withstand successfully. Academicians don't seem to take to lean living very avidly these days, but the reward of those women's colleges that do so, if necessary, will be a better level of education for women in the United States and surely a more exalted role for women in shaping the cultural life of the nation.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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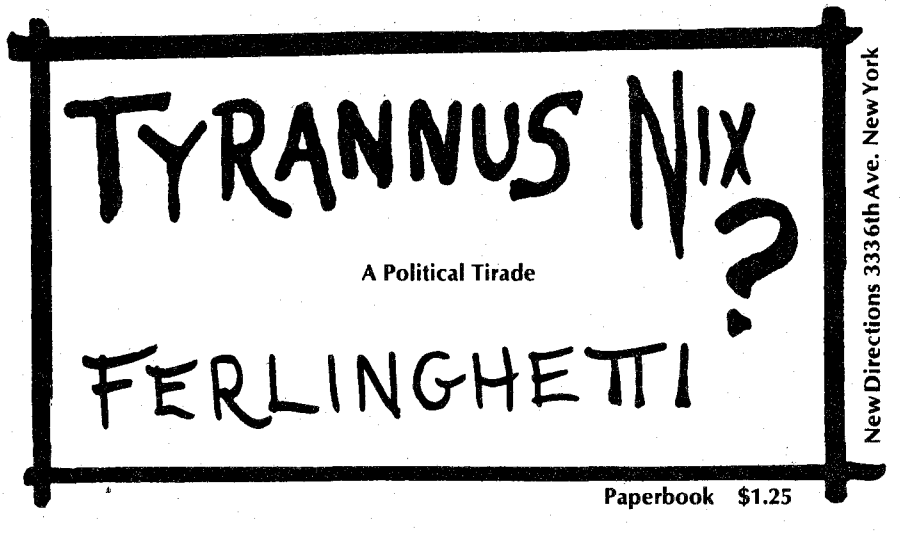

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Staircase

(20th Century-Fox)

Take the Money and Run

(Cinerama)

I had the good luck to see Paul Scofield and Patrick Magee in the London production of *Staircase*, so Charles Dyer's two-character play has for me the aspect of a *pas de deux* – a theatrical excuse to display some fine acting. As a dramatic work, this story of two middle-aged London barbers is a slight exercise in pathos, briskly enough written, which depends for its little life on the fact that the two men are homosexuals. To put it another way, in a play on a less titillating subject, the author's skimpy gifts would be more apparent.

Now Dyer has made a screenplay of *Staircase* and, as screenwriters will, he has "opened it up." The opening only reveals the skimpiness. As a play, it had some prettiness of form: two characters, one place, almost continuous time; the economies were not only Aristotelian, they helped to underscore the isolation of the pair. But now we go upstairs to see Harry's bedridden mum, we go out to parks and graveyards and an old folks' home, a homo pickup is brought in. The shape is smashed. The staircase of the play, under which the two barbers are confined and on which they hear the lecherous feet of their boarder and her lovers, has no meaning. A song called *Staircase*, sung by two transvestite performers, is inserted before the credits, to try to give the title meaning. It fails. Worse, the splaying of the script has meant the inclusion of facile ugliness – garbage cans, pee stains in mum's bed, the gutting of a chicken – all in the cheapest Tony Richardson tradition.

A good deal of this is presumably the fault of Stanley Donen, the producer-director. Donen has been an outstanding director of comedies – musicals like *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* and *Funny Face* and one of my favorite bits of nonmusical fluff, *The Grass Is Greener*. In such works he had ease and confident invention. But, venturing into slice-of-life seriousness, he shows a failure both of invention and taste. *Staircase* is a flabby film that, as it goes along, seems to realize its flabbiness and grabs frantically at bits of sordidness to prove that it really is serious. No longer a graceful duet, it becomes a waddling tale, spattered with ugliness, that falls into the biggest sentimental trap for homosexual material: it pleads for pity.

But it would be a shame if the general failure obscured the one validity in the film – Richard Burton's performance as the balding Harry. Burton does not always give good performances, but it is never for lack of gifts. Either he chooses hopeless material (*Boom!*) or he is blatantly lazy (*Dr. Faustus, The Taming of the Shrew*). In *Staircase* he has really concentrated his powers; something about Harry has captured and galvanized him, made him provide more than stunts or surfaces. As the pudgy fearful old poof, Burton could not rely much on his star *persona*, and he has not used the vulgar alternative of being the glamorous Burton at a masquerade. He has been concerned only with the truth of Harry, the vulnerability and humility and forlorn gumption, and with the expression of it *as Harry*. When he tends his disgusting old mother (beautiful Cathleen Nesbitt as was), it is Harry's desperate compassion that governs, not Burton showing us that stars have hearts. When he appears in his atrocious wig, it is the pitiful man himself, fearful of his pal's comments, not a camp act by the clever Mr. B. There is no crack or crevice in the entire performance. It's not often that a sex star builds a role entirely out of what he can perceive and do, not out of what he is or is known as. Harry is an extraordinary work of character-actor's art.

Contrast it with Rex Harrison's performance of the dapper Charlie. In his own generation (the one before Burton's) Harrison had the talent and opportunity to become one of its few great actors. If he lacked the lovely Welsh melancholy that Burton can summon, still he had a wider range – his own tragic notes, and high comedy that was superlative. But he lacked one essential. Laurence Olivier has said of himself that he is the greatest actor of his generation, not because he is the most talented – he doesn't think he is – but because he is the bravest. Bravery, of the sort that Olivier means, is precisely what Harrison has not shown in his career. And ever since *My Fair Lady* – which was mostly a repetition on camera of a previous fine performance – his film acting has shown a continual narrowing, a constriction of spirit, plus an implied reliance on a stature that he hasn't really achieved.

Lately Harrison's acting seems to be floating loose from the centers that once gave it subtle truths. (Remember the exquisite inflections in *Major Barbara* and *The Notorious Gentleman*.) This was bad enough when he was doing things within his usual, though not unvaried, line, like *The Honey Pot*. In the eccentric Charlie, a role that could live only through the sort of creative imagination that Burton shows, Harrison seems quite unable to confront the man with honesty or sympathy. There is no emotional or imaginative connection, there are only surface gestures. This stultifies the moments of anguish (watch Harrison's eyes, which remain dead), but, more shocking, the moments of venom, which should have been easy for him, are mere patter. Most shocking, the speech, intended to be glib for the glib Charlie, is noticeably labored in an actor who used to carve words with swift scalpel strokes.

His performance makes a former admirer very sad. Will he ever recover his powers? Is there time?

Several reviews of Woody Allen's *Take the Money and Run* have said that it's funny for an hour or so, then runs down. I disagree. It simply runs on. If you came in during the picture and saw the second half first, it would be just as funny as the first half is for those who see it from the beginning. Allen, who is the co-author, director, and star, is a witty man, but he is a stand-up comedian, a performer whose basic method is that of the fisherman: he comes out and casts his lines a number of times, trying to catch as many laughs as possible. After a while, he quits, hoping that his average has been high.

Allen's longer efforts are just larger numbers of tries. This is painfully clear in his current Broadway comedy, *Play It Again, Sam*, which is a revue sketch cancerously overgrown. His film is much better because Allen has clever

(Continued on page 39)

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Reed Whittemore: A Little Bit of Harry

The Trial of Dr. Spock by Jessica Mitford

(Knopf; $5.95)

Jessica Mitford has done a beautiful job. It's a play, with each character brought alive, and each incident's soul lit up. Reading it I tended to think of art rather than life, and worry when she violated her Aristotle; but life it was, and we should be grateful to the improbable U S of A for bringing it to us.

Miss Mitford is not grateful, however. Like the defendants she has a case to make against the state – against the fuzzy conspiracy law, against "having to argue a big case in a small way" (the words of Chaplain Coffin), against a prejudiced judge, and of course against the state's war that brought the trial on. Hawks will hate the book, but it is not a book for hawks. It is for those who one way or another have recently been driven to anarchist thought, that is, to thought rootedly questioning the state's law.

The defendants had hoped, as Coffin said, "to test in court the legality of an undeclared war, the constitutionality of the draft law, and . . . the limits of dissent guaranteed by the first amendment." Here was the big case they were denied; and perhaps if such testing had been allowed to occur a court might have been found to contain it, as well as an aggressive jury, a jury aware of all *its* rights, to settle it. But those are the grand art possibilities that did not occur in life, leaving Miss Mitford with something less than the epic or tragic.

She reckons remarkably with the less: with the comedy of an irascible judge raving against "facial demonstrations," and witty reporters wisecracking about the trial's trivia (when a zipcode was omitted from a tedious report, one said, "but what *is* the zip? Haven't we a right to know? What's he trying to conceal?"), and lawyers arguing whether applause for a public speech is conspiracy. There is also the melodrama of violence outside the court, and tears inside; and there is the steady Perry Mason conflict between prosecution (which thematically included the judge) and defense, a conflict of great complexity which had to be resolved, in the dubious tradition of drama, simply and clearly. Finally, there is the purgative aftermath, including interviews with three worried jurors.

Yet it is the very excellence of trial and book as theater that leads to a narrow view of the social and legal significance of the trial. Miss Mitford, emerging a fatalist from the proceedings, concludes Greekly that political prosecutions must "invariably" be unjust because, no matter how elaborate may be the paraphernalia for producing a fair trial, the trial will inevitably be run according to the rules of the enemy. The defendants will be denied the "one right" that is "most basic of all; the right not to be tried for dissent."

This seems to me the conclusion for a different play. Were they victims? They certainly felt that way during the trial, and possibly felt that way at the moment of the verdict. On the other hand they certainly invited trial, and getting one was a victory of sorts, despite the imposition of Boston and conspiracy. Getting one was a victory for the muddled and desperate antiwar forces they, I think nonconspiratorially, represented.

Did the trial itself wrest the victory from them? I think not. Victory and loss come in different packages now than when St. Joan was burned at the stake. I don't mean to underestimate the personal pains of trials for such defendants, nor the inconvenience (a nice euphemism) of imprisonment, should it occur. Yet the greater fact is that the legal establishment is running scared now. From either a theatrical or a long-term social view its decisions in political cases are emerging as extraordinarily indecisive. As with the new drama of static, cross-legged Zen players, we the audience tend to come out about where we went in; the world has moved only a decimal point in some computer.

My guess is that the Spock case moved us a decimal point toward peace, and maybe a couple of decimal points toward a better draft law. That, in modern terms, is victory.

The Mitford book is in too close focus to bring out such progress, if it can be called that. Maybe drama always is. Maybe we must now turn the whole bit over to the systems people – a discouraging thought. Yet one resource that might help to provide the necessary perspective for computer drama

A l'Ecole Berlitz

Mademoiselle Printemps, my sometimes instructress,
with whom I slowly form pained sentences,
(Je n'y en ai pas vu,
par example, ou
A quelle heure vous êtes-vous couchée hier soir?)
at the end of one lesson
let down her French, and we faced
each other naked, I stripped
of the strange tongue that stiffly cloaks
each cretin utterance in dignity,
and she exposed in all her English vowels,
as luminous and slow as skin,
her consonants curling like bits of fleece,
the sense of her sentence as stunning and clear
as a tear-filled surrender.
"I am interested in doing translation,"
she said, and I couldn't think of a word. Not one.

John Updike

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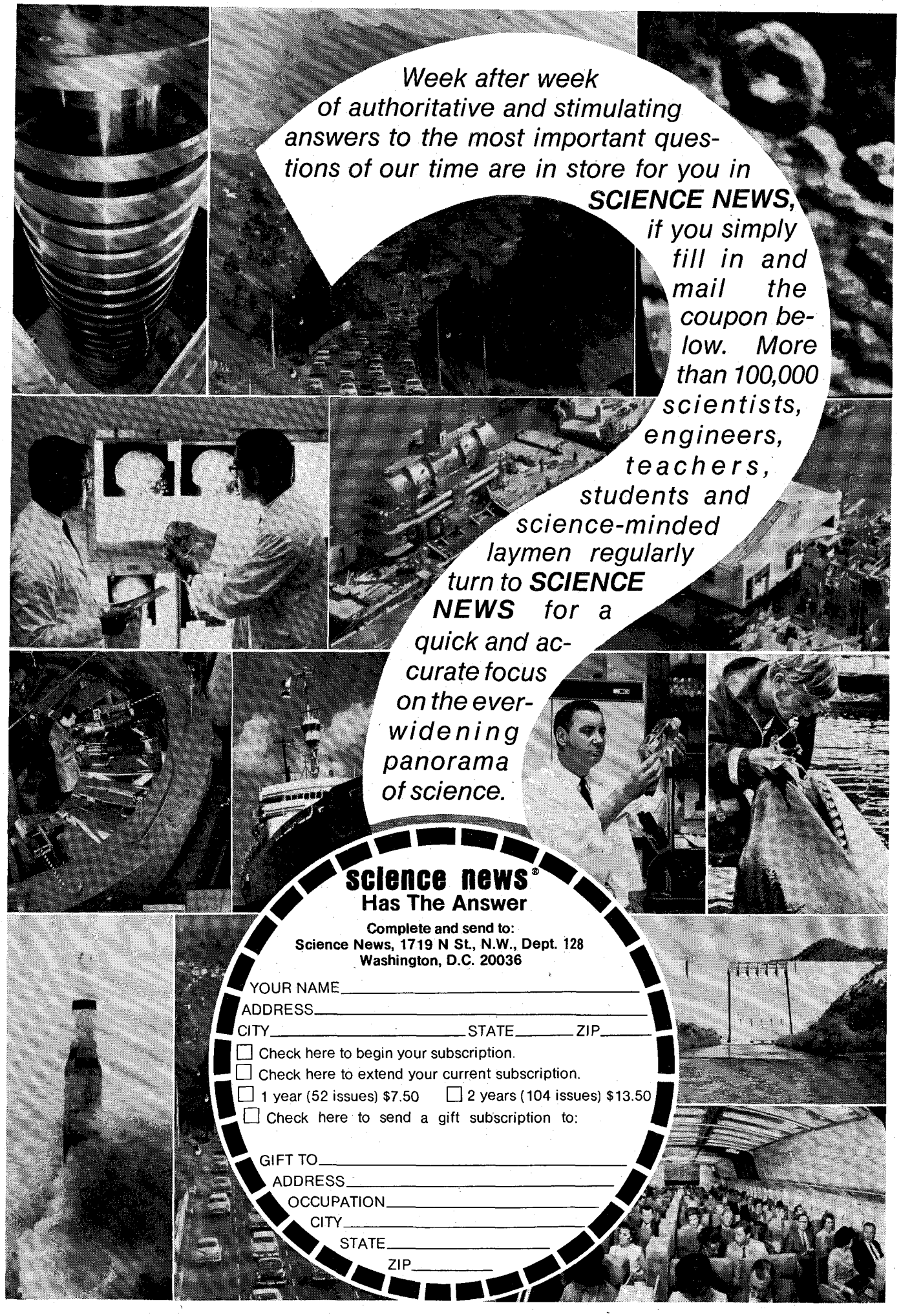

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is the private life and thought of the always seemingly anonymous establishment crowd. This resource Miss Mitford was unable to exploit.

Naturally, the judge and the prosecution weren't talking much; and there's always a freeze on, over at Justice. Why these defendants were chosen, why Boston and conspiracy were chosen, how the White House and the elections figured in prosecution strategy – these have all been matters for discussion in antiwar ranks, and they are referred to occasionally in the Mitford book, but from the outside. She seems to despair of *finding* an inside.

I can't blame her. The whole reporter army in Washington is permanently dedicated to finding an inside, and it seldom does. The inside hides. To the inside, the reporters, and now Miss Mitford, are the enemy. The inside, especially of the judicial establishment, is convinced that letting the inside out is ruinous, front-page stuff.

Even if after a few years in office a public official has no inside, the problem remains. The Mitford book, the fullness of its reporting of the lives of the private-citizen defendants, calls attention to it, and goes away.

Great drama like great government needs a display of the full public soul as well as the private. It needs a little bit of Harry in the night, someone real as an antagonist for the citizen. But everything now militates against Harry's appearance. Especially the dear old media.

John Chancellor: The Blitz Man

Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow by Alexander Kendrick

(Little, Brown; $8.95)

Ed Murrow believed in the simple things, in the evil of Hitler, the courage of the British, the danger of Joe McCarthy, the values of truth and honesty. He was a man of conviction and talent, surely the most influential broadcaster in the history of the medium, and a figure of extraordinary prestige in the forties and fifties.

And yet Murrow was a casualty of the sixties. The hero of the Battle of Britain was overcome by the Bay of Pigs, Vietnam, and changes in the broadcasting business which left him with nothing to do. His talent was intact but not useful on television, his counsel largely unheeded in government.

Murrow hadn't changed, but the world had. The classic simplicities of Hitler's war and McCarthy's menace had been replaced by the inscrutable complexities of the sixties, and for a simple man like Murrow there seemed to be no role to play at the end.

The beginning, however, was magnificent. The lives of some men are programmed to intersect with great events, and Murrow was one of those. He was precisely the right man at precisely the right place when European history and the technology of communication were about to undergo colossal changes.

Hitler was marching into Austria when Murrow and William L. Shirer organized – overnight – the first "world news roundup" with correspondents reporting live on radio from overseas studios. During the Battle of Britain, he was among the first to broadcast live from a rooftop during an air raid. He made his reputation during the war in radio, and he came home to sustain it in television, being again among the first of the television documentarians.

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Defense shield or invitation to holocaust?

Photograph by Bachrach

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE:
Its Origins and Its Future
by John J. McCloy

In this challenging new appraisal, the former Assistant Secretary of War, United States Military Governor, and High Commissioner for Germany looks at the past, present and future of the Atlantic Alliance and NATO. He examines their establishment as counter-measures to Russian aggression, their present validity in a rapidly changing world, and the new roles of both organizations at a time when relations between the United States and Europe are at a crossroads.

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Alexander Kendrick, a colleague at CBS News, has produced a tender and loving biography of his friend which is too long, which tells us more of Murrow than we need to know, but which also illustrates the fact that the times they are a-changin', man, and possibly not for the better. A biography of a broadcaster is a risky enterprise, because the basic material is so insubstantial. You can wrap fish with yesterday's newspaper, but this morning's world news roundup is gone forever. Murrow's writing holds up astonishingly well, however, particularly his reporting of the London blitz. Reading the words is the next best thing to hearing the broadcasts themselves. The best thing *is* listening, and the records are commercially available.

What comes through, in the book and on the records, with the clarity of a mountain brook, is the degree of personal conviction which Murrow brought to his work. He was not a cool communicator, but rather a passionate advocate, able to involve his audience. In a wartime letter to his parents, Murrow wrote, "I remember you once wanted me to be a preacher, but I had no faith, except in myself. But now I am preaching from a powerful pulpit. Often I am wrong but I am trying to talk as I would have talked were I a preacher. One need not wear a reversed collar to be honest."

Murrow used a microphone instead of a reversed collar, and developed an immense congregation. What happened to it, in the end? Why did Murrow's broadcasting career start to slide in the late fifties? Kendrick's answer lies in the last line of the book: "Ed Murrow was dead. The Beverly Hillbillies lived on." It is Kendrick's contention that television had turned from responsible programs to purely commercial programs, leaving no place for Murrow. He charts Murrow's disputes with the CBS brass, especially Frank Stanton, and the slow demise of *CBS Reports*, a program that was Murrow's main accomplishment in television.

The book won't make broadcasting executives very happy, but they are a melancholy lot these days, in any case. On the other hand, Murrow himself seemed uninterested in public television; while he was with the USIA the Ford Foundation offered him a "fourth network" of educational stations, and he turned them down, possibly because he had committed him-

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self to the Kennedy Administration. He was never fully at ease with the Kennedy people. He was older than most of them, and represented an earlier era in public life. This is part of the answer to the decline in his broadcasting career, as well: his roots and his dynamics belonged to an earlier time. In the beginning with CBS, Murrow had produced talks by Shaw and Chesterton and Kipling. Winston Churchill was his friend. The radio talk was his favorite medium, and he was uncomfortable on television. On live television, say at a political convention, he could be disastrously inept, as his superiors at CBS learned with genuine sorrow. It is not heresy to suggest that Murrow, in the end, did not meet the requirements of contemporary broadcasting, certainly in live programs. We are all the worse off because he didn't, but it is true nevertheless.

The cancer which claimed him in the end made it even more difficult for him to pursue his career. Fred Friendly (with a persistence that seems to have offended Mrs. Murrow) kept after Murrow with ideas for films, but it never seemed to work out.

His tour with the USIA seems in retrospect to have been a mistake. It involved him in some creditless actions. It made him a frustrated executive and an unhappy petitioner for Congressional funds. He wasn't consulted about the Bay of Pigs. Whatever he thought about Vietnam he kept to himself and did his job. He found himself tolerating certain selective managements of the news on the Voice of America. There is a kind of ethical erosion which happens to men like Murrow in jobs like that. He would have been better off somewhere else.

Kendrick tells us where that might have been; President Kennedy at one time considered sending Murrow to London as Ambassador. David Bruce got the job, and performed brilliantly, but Murrow would have been a sensationally effective Ambassador in Britain. He loved the British and they loved him. It is possible that the most satisfying moments in Murrow's life took place in London during the blitz, when questions of life and courage called for simple answers. In that sense, Ed Murrow was an old soldier, a magnificent old soldier who in the end just faded away.

JOHN CHANCELLOR *has been a correspondent for NBC News since 1950.*

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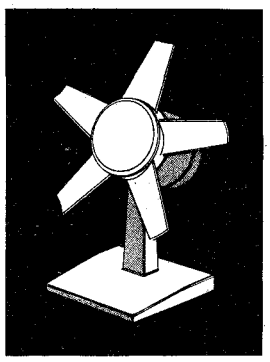

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Despoiled

Sirs:

As a Maine resident for the past 15 years and a regular reader of *The New Republic*. I was disappointed in David Sanford's article "Jousting with Oil" in the August 23–30 issue.

I'm just as eager for lower oil prices as Mr. Sanford is, but I'm also very much concerned about what a huge oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine would do to our still-beautiful but agonizingly vulnerable coast. When you live on or near the seacoast, inhabited yet clean, you appreciate the significance of oil damage to an environment as was inflicted at Santa Barbara by drilling and on English beaches by Torry Canyon.

I understand that the sort of tankers planned for transportation of oil to the proposed Machiasport facility are in the 300,000 ton class – a good deal larger than the Torry Canyon. That's pretty alarming when you consider how tricky the currents and narrow channels are in the harbors deep enough to accommodate ships of this size, at least in Maine.

Oil people say they would be careful. Seems to me we've heard that before. The trouble is, even if a skipper were careful, something as minute as a faulty valve could, as in Portland Harbor a few weeks ago, spill hundreds of thousands of gallons of oil into coastal waters where people depend on clean water.

Maine needs a pure environment more than she does an oil refinery, at least in view of the immense hazards which now go along with oil refineries. I for one don't mind paying more money for gas if it means our most valuable resource – clean water – will be preserved. I think the tourist and fisheries businesses, which together amount to an 800 million dollar per year operation would also prefer clean water to cheaper gas. Once oil gets all over the coast, you can forget fishing and swimming for a long, long time.

Robert Coxe
Brunswick, Maine

Dumb Children

Sirs:

On behalf of the hundreds of thousands of deaf people in the United States, and perhaps all over the world, may I express my appreciation of James Ridgeway's article "Dumb" Children which appeared in your August 2nd issue.

For over 100 years now deaf children have been the innocent victims of a system that advocates education under the most difficult conditions ever devised by man, which not only insisted on the sacrifice of the many for the good of a few but also left us all without the means by which we could effectively protest against this treatment.

Our champions have been few and far between but thousands of bewildered parents and hundreds of thousands of deaf adults applaud *The New Republic*'s effort to "tell it like it is."

Frederick C. Schreiber
Executive Secretary
National Association of the Deaf
Washington, D.C.

Sirs:

What prompted James Ridgeway's vicious attack on "oralism"? Has he ever talked or listened to deaf adults who learned to talk and read lips successfully despite their prelingual loss of hearing?

I myself am an adult who is congenitally deaf, and could never understand why deaf leaders have pilloried, never praised me for accomplishing what they call "impossible." Most of these leaders did not have the problem I had, as they lost their hearing *after* they acquired speech and language, so perhaps they do not understand the importance of speech to us prelingually deaf people.

Every day I wake up and thank my parents for not listening to authorities who advised them to take up the sign language. If it were not for them and also devoted and hardworking teachers, I would not be able to function in the world outside of home and school. I could not talk at all until I was five years old; my speech is not perfect but

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is understandable for practical purposes.

Many deaf adults have complained bitterly to me that they were not given the opportunity to learn or use the tools of speech. I can well understand their feelings, as it is *so* convenient to be able to communicate with people ev-everyday, anyplace.

Because of modern auditory training, it is becoming more and more possible to train small children in the use of their residual hearing. I keep in touch with the local schools and have been thrilled more than once to see how many tiny tots begin to understand speech through their hearing aids after a few years of training and to talk clearly and distinctly at the age of three.

Such is the reward of modern technology. But advances cannot be continued until we find highly-qualified teachers who love and understand children, and who will continue to seek improvement in methods of teaching.

Arthur B. Simon
San Francisco, Calif.

Sirs:

James Ridgeway's article, "'Dumb' Children," is surely one of the finest of its kind I have read. His information is accurate, his insights perceptive. He has laid bare a rotting cancer that has been eating away at the vitality of education of deaf children for the last fifty years. Mere exposure to sunlight, however, will not cure. Hopefully other writers like Ridgeway and Kohl will take up this cause in the favor of deaf children.

Louie J. Fant, Jr.
Fairfield, Conn.

Sirs:

I wish to tell you how pleased I was to see your article "'Dumb' Children" by James Ridgeway. This is exactly the kind of article that I would prefer to see more of.

This organization has been working to improve conditions for the "dumb" children of Virginia. We have been successful in obtaining legislative provisions and we are represented at the state level in drafting a program which if properly funded and implemented will go a long way to alleviating the condition of "dumbness" in Virginia.

We are a one hundred percent action-oriented group. We have no paid personnel. Our president, Colonel Clapp, was instrumental in getting into operation the first public school program for deaf children in the state in Arlington.

I have acted as a consultant to similar groups just getting organized in New York and Wisconsin. If enough of us put out the right kind of persistent effort and we continue to see fine articles such as yours, we may solve the problem one of these years.

Robert S. Smith
Executive Director
VOICE
Vienna, Virginia

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

schemes about the medium itself, where he has none at all about the theater. In fact, if the picture were to be saddled with a theme, it would be the penetration by media-forms into our fantasies: film hits, TV interviews, TV quiz games, TV commercials.

Once again he is the bespectacled shnook, this time the shnook as criminal. We never believe for a moment that Allen *is* a criminal – as we can believe, at least partially, that Keaton is a Confederate railroad engineer – so the fun is all conscious comment. This means that the comment has to keep coming; there is little chance for dramatic understructure in the comedy. And this, plus the fact that Allen doesn't even seem to sense the need for cumulation and growth, makes the picture a series of items, good or less good. But a lot of them are funny.

Janet Margolin is appealing as the doe-eyed Bonnie to this clumsy Clyde. Allen's direction is competent enough; at least the camera always looks where it ought to look in order to get the laugh. My guess is that he owes considerable to Ralph Rosenblum, the film editor, who was "editorial consultant." I think I even saw Rosenblum make a brief appearance, rising through the sidewalk in a freight elevator.

A letter from a reader in the San Diego (Calif.) area arrived simultaneously with a story in *Variety* (Aug. 20) on the same subject: the only two San Diego newspapers, owned by the same

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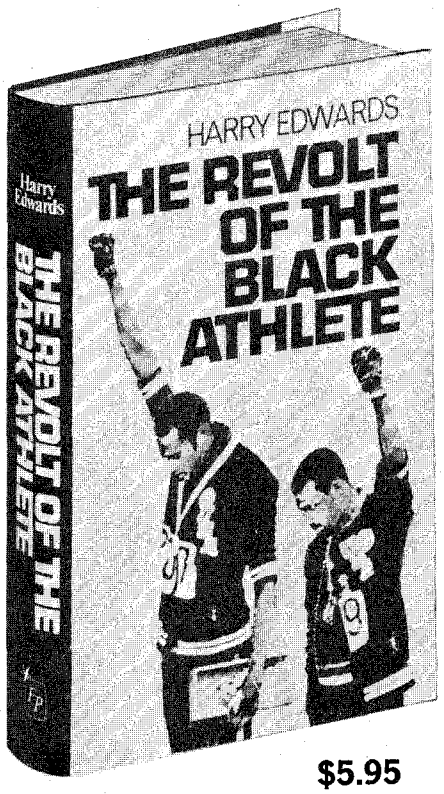

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publisher, now refuse to accept advertising for films that have been rated X under the new rating system of the Motion Picture Association of America. *Variety*, which is carefully following censorship activities around the country, reports that the first X film to play in the San Diego area after this ban is *Midnight Cowboy* and that it is doing good business because of TV and radio ads and 75,000 handbills.

I don't know of any law that can force a newspaper to accept advertising, but if the advertisement itself is not objectionable (and the *Midnight Cowboy* ads have been models of reticence), then the newspapers' proscription, particularly in a monopoly situation like this one, constitutes a form of tyranny. Legal redress is something about which the MPAA can advise film distributors and theater owners, as can the American Civil Liberties Union, which has taken an interest in this subject. But one action that distributors and San Diego theater owners can take on their own, is to reciprocate the boycott. Why advertise at all in those newspapers? *Variety* says that the enforced advertising methods are twice as expensive as the usual newspaper ads, but they seem to be producing results. Evidently, then, where a picture is salable, it can be sold profitably, if more expensively, without the newspapers. If *Midnight Cowboy* doesn't need those San Diego papers, there are certainly plenty of pictures rated G, M, and R that don't need those papers, either.

An X rating (to say it once again) is a device intended to protect minors and also to protect freedom of expression for adults. The action of the San Diego publisher is not only morally arrogant, it is harmful of a system designed to protect the very interests he is allegedly worried about. If there is no legal redress, there seems to be possible business redress.

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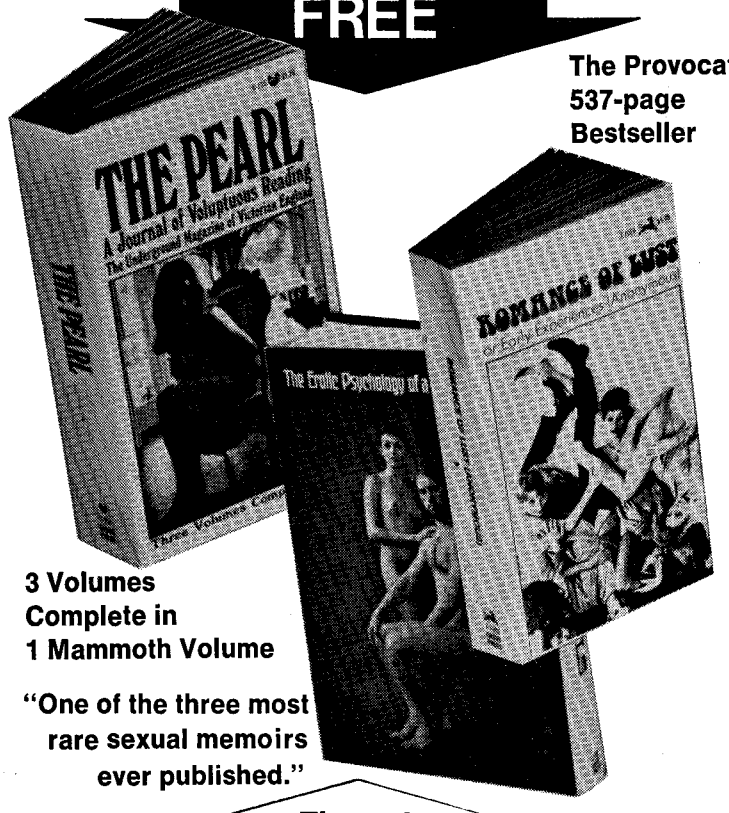

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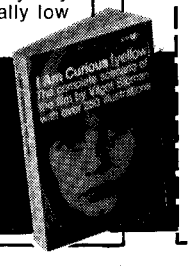

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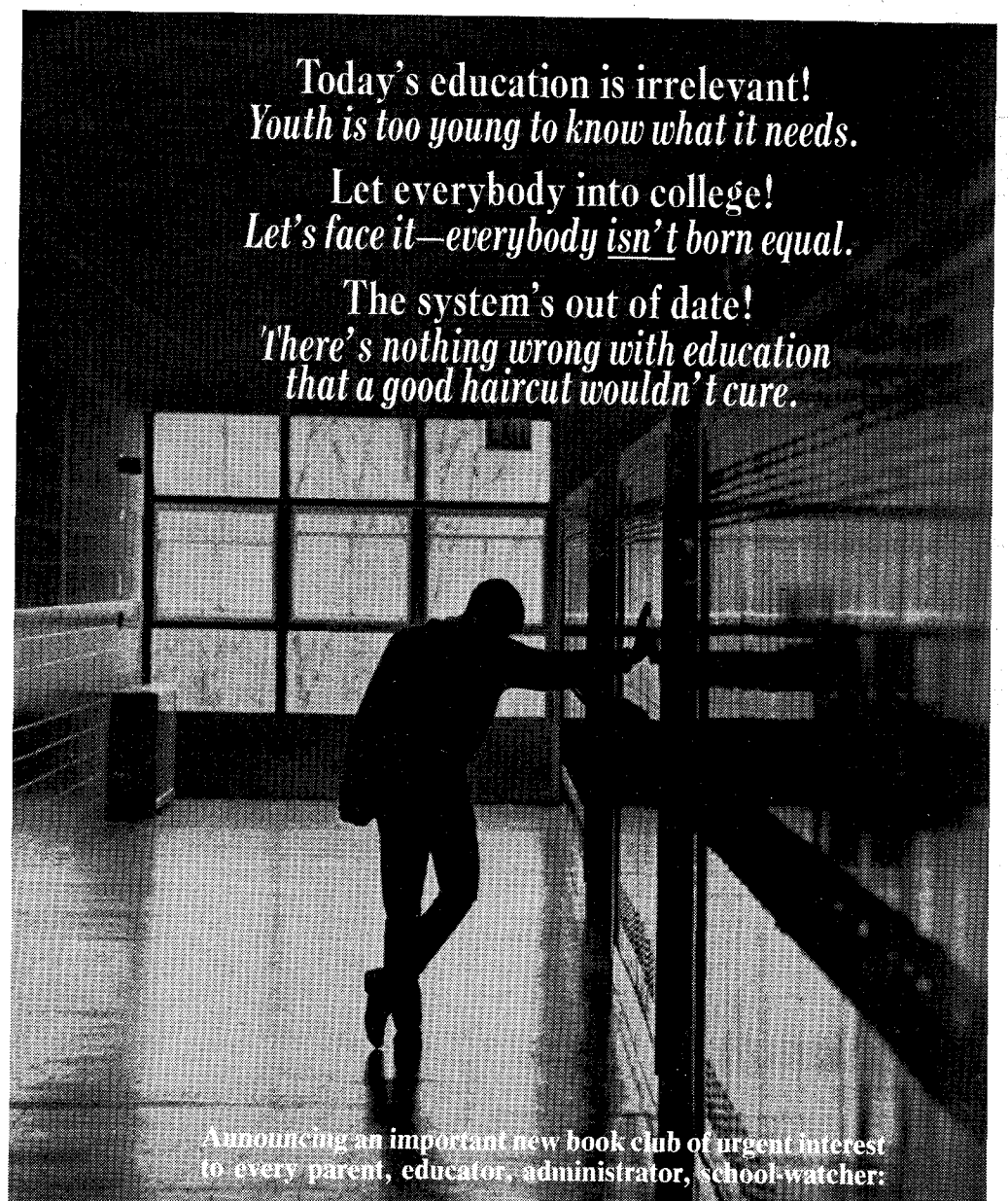
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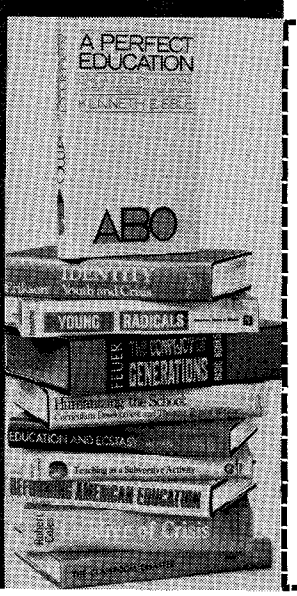

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